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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

GRECIAN SECTION.

PART I.

AGESILAUS TO THESEUS THE ARGONAUT.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

LANGHORNE TRANSLATION.

Text and Notes Complete and Revised, with Index.

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PREFACE.

If the merit of a Work may be estimated from the universality of its reception, Plutarch's Lives have a claim to the first honours of Literature. No book has been more generally sought after, or read with greater avidity. It was one of the first that were brought out of the retreats of the learned, and translated into the modern languages. Amiot, Abbé of Bellozane, published a French translation of it in the reign of Henry II.; and from that work it was translated into English in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

It is said by those who are not willing to allow Shakspeare much learning, that he availed himself of the last-mentioned translation; but they seem to forget that, in order to support their arguments of this kind, it is necessary for them to prove that Plato too was translated into English at the same time; for the celebrated soliloquy, "To be, or not to be," is taken almost verbatim from that philosopher; yet we have never found that Plato was translated in those times.

Amiot was a man of great industry and considerable learning. He sought diligently in the libraries of Rome and Venice for those Lives of Plutarch which are lost; and though his search was unsuccessful, by meeting with a variety of MSS., and comparing them with the printed copies, he was enabled in many places to rectify the text. This was a very essential circumstance; for few ancient writers had suffered more than Plutarch from the carelessness of printers and transcribers; and, with all his merit, it was his fate for a long time to find no able restorer. The schoolmen despised his Greek because it had not the purity of Xenophon, nor the Attic terseness of Aristophanes. Amiot's translation was published in the year 1558; but no reputable edition of the Greek text of Plutarch appeared till that of Paris in 1624, which, though drawn from an imperfect text, passed through many editions, till Dacier, under better auspices, attempted a new one, which he executed with great elegance and tolerable accuracy. The text he followed was not correct, for the London edition of Plutarch was not then published. The French language being the fashionable language of almost every Court in Europe, Dacier's translation came not only into the libraries, but into the hands of men. Plutarch was universally read, and no book in those times had a more extensive sale, or went through a greater number of impressions. The translator had, indeed, acquitted himself, in one respect, with great happiness. He had carefully followed that rule, which no translator ought ever to lose sight of—the great rule of humouring the genius and maintaining the structure of his own language. He frequently broke the long and embarrassed periods of the Greek; and by dividing and shortening them, he gave them greater perspicuity and more easy movement. Yet still he was faithful to his original; and where he

did not mistake him, which indeed he seldom did, conveyed his ideas with clearness. He enriched his translation with a variety of explanatory notes. There are so many readers who have no competent acquaintance with the customs of antiquity, the laws of the ancient states, the ceremonies of their religion, and the remote and minuter parts of their history and genealogy, that, to have an account of these matters ever before the eye, and to travel with a guide who is ready to describe to us every object we are unacquainted with, is a privilege equally convenient and agreeable. But here the annotator ought to have stopped. When examples are placed before them, they will not fail to make right inferences; but if those are made for them, the didactic air of information destroys their influence.

After the old English translation of Plutarch, which was professedly taken from Amiot's French, no other appeared till the time of Dryden, who was prevailed upon, by his necessities, to head a company of translators, and to lend the sanction of his glorious name to a translation of Plutarch, written, as he himself acknowledges, by almost as many hands as there were lives. That this motley work was full of errors, inequalities, and inconsistencies, is not in the least to be wondered at. Indeed, their task was not easy. To translate Plutarch under any circumstances could require no ordinary skill in the language and antiquities of Greece; but to attempt it whilst the text was in a depraved state, unsettled and unrectified, abounding with errors, misnomers, and transpositions—this required much greater abilities than fell to the lot of that body of translators in general. But the diversities of style were not the greatest fault of this strange translation. It was full of the grossest errors. Ignorance on the one hand, and hastiness or negligence on the other, had filled it with absurdities in every Life, and inaccuracies in almost every page. The language in general was insupportably tame, tedious, and embarrassed. The periods had no harmony; the phraseology had no elegance, no spirit, no precision. Yet this is the last translation of Plutarch's Lives that has appeared in the English language, and the only one that is now read. When Dacier's translation came abroad, the proprietor of Dryden's copy in 1727 endeavoured to repair it by a mean recourse to the labours of Dacier.

Thus the English Plutarch's Lives, at first so heterogeneous and absurd, received but little benefit from this whimsical reparation. Dacier's best notes were, indeed, of some value; but the patchwork alterations the editors had drawn from his translation, made their book appear still like Otway's Old Woman, whose gown of many colours spoke "variety of wretchedness."

This translation continued in the same form upwards of thirty years. But in the year 1758 the proprietor engaged a gentleman of abilities to give it a second purgation. He rectified a multitude of errors, and in many places endeavoured to mend the miserable language. Two of the Lives he translated anew; and this he executed in such a manner, that, had he done the whole, the present translators would never have thought of the undertaking. But two Lives out of fifty made a very small part of this great work; and though he rectified many errors in the old translation, yet, where almost everything was error, it is no wonder if many escaped him. In the course of our Notes we had remarked a great number; but, apprehensive that such a continual attention to the faults of a former translation might appear invidious, we expunged the greatest part of the remarks, and suffered such only to remain as might testify the propriety of our present undertaking. Besides, though the ingenious reviser of the edition of 1758 might repair the language where it was most palpably deficient, it was im-

possible for him to alter the cast and complexion of the whole. It would still retain its inequalities, its tameness, and heavy march; its mixture of idioms, and the irksome train of far-connected periods. These it still retains; and after all the operations it has gone through, remains "like some patch'd doghole eked with ends of wall!"

In this view of things, the necessity of a new translation is obvious, and the hazard does not appear to be great. With such competitors for the public favour, the contest has neither glory nor danger attending it. But the labour and attention necessary, as well to secure as to obtain that favour, neither are nor ought to be less. And with whatever success the present translators may be thought to have executed their undertaking, they will always at least have the merit of a diligent desire to discharge this public duty faithfully. Where the text of Plutarch appeared to them erroneous, they have spared no pains and neglected no means in their power to rectify it. Sensible that the great art of a translator is to prevent the peculiarities of his author's language from stealing into his own, they have been particularly attentive to this point, and have generally endeavoured to keep their English unmixed with Greek. At the same time it must be observed that there is frequently a great similarity in the structure of the two languages; yet that resemblance, in some instances, makes it the more necessary to guard against it on the whole. This care is of the greater consequence, because Plutarch's Lives generally pass through the hands of young people, who ought to read their own language in its native purity, unmixed and untainted with the idioms of different tongues. For their sakes too, as well as for the sake of readers of a different class, we have omitted some passages in the text, and have only signified the omissions by asterisks. Some, perhaps, may censure us for taking too great a liberty with our author in this circumstance. However, we must beg leave in that instance to abide by our own opinion; and sure we are that we should have censured no translator for the same. Could everything of that kind have been omitted we should have been still less dissatisfied; but sometimes the chain of the narrative would not admit of it, and the disagreeable parts were to be got over with as much decency as possible.

In the descriptions of battles, camps, and sieges, it is more than probable that we may sometimes be mistaken in the military terms. We have endeavoured, however, to be as accurate in this respect as possible, and to acquaint ourselves with this kind of knowledge as well as our situations would permit; but we will not promise the reader that we have always succeeded. Where something seemed to have fallen out of the text, or where the ellipsis was too violent for the forms of our language, we have not scrupled to maintain the tenor of the narrative, or the chain of reason, by such little insertions as appeared to be necessary for the purpose. These short insertions we at first put between hooks; but as that deformed the page, without answering any material purpose, we soon rejected it.

Such are the liberties we have taken with Plutarch, and the learned, we flatter ourselves, will not think them too great. Yet there is one more, which, if we could have presumed upon it, would have made his book infinitely more uniform and agreeable. We often wished to throw out of the text into the notes those tedious and digressive comments that spoil the beauty and order of his narrative, mortify the expectation frequently when it is most essentially interested, and destroy the natural influence of his story by turning the attention into a different channel. Every reader of Plutarch must have felt the pain of these unseasonable digressions; but we could not, upon our own pleasure or authority, remove them.

In the Notes we have prosecuted these several intentions. We have endeavoured to bring the English reader acquainted with the Greek and Roman antiquities; where Plutarch had omitted anything remarkable in the Lives, to supply it from other authors, and to make his book in some measure a general history of the periods under his pen. In the Notes, too, we have assigned reasons for it, where we have differed from the former translators.

This part of our work is neither wholly borrowed nor altogether original. Where Dacier or other annotators offered us any thing to the purpose, we have not scrupled to make use of it; and to avoid the endless trouble of citations we make this acknowledgment once for all. The number of original notes the learned reader will find to be very considerable; but there are not so many notes of any kind in the latter part of the work, because the manners and customs, the religious ceremonies, laws, state-offices, and forms of government, among the ancients, being explained in the first Lives, much did not remain for the business of information.

Four of Plutarch's Parallels are supposed to be lost: those of Themistocles and Camillus; Pyrrhus and Marius; Phocion and Cato; Alexander and Cæsar. These Dacier supplies by others of his own composition, but so different from those of Plutarch, that they have little right to be incorporated with his works.

The necessary Chronological Tables, together with Tables of Money, Weights and Measures, and a copious Index, have been provided for this translation; of which we may truly say, that it wants no other advantages than such as the Translators had not power to give.

THE LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

As, in the progress of life, we first pass through scenes of innocence, peace, and fancy, and afterwards encounter the vices and disorders of society; so we shall here amuse ourselves a while in the peaceful solitude of the philosopher, before we proceed to those more animated, but less pleasing objects he describes.

Nor will the view of a philosopher's life be less instructive than his labours. If the latter teach us how great vices, accompanied with great abilities, may tend to the ruin of a state; if they inform us how Ambition attended with magnanimity, how Avarice directed by political sagacity, how Envy and Revenge, armed with personal valour and popular support, will destroy the most sacred establishments, and break through every barrier of human repose and safety; the former will convince us that equanimity is more desirable than the highest privileges of mind, and that the most distinguished situations in life are less to be envied than those quiet allotments, where Science is the support of Virtue.

Pindar and Epaminondas had, long before Plutarch's time, redeemed in some measure the credit of Bœotia, and rescued the inhabitants of that country from the proverbial imputation of stupidity. When Plutarch appeared, he confirmed the reputation it had recovered. He shewed that genius is not the growth of any particular soil; and that its cultivation requires no peculiar qualities of climate.

Chæronea, a town in Bœotia, between Phocis and Attica, had the honour to give him birth. This place was remarkable for nothing but the tameness and servility of its inhabitants, whom Antony's soldiers made beasts of burthen, and obliged to carry their corn upon their shoulders to the coast. As it lay between two seas, and was partly shut up by mountains, the air, of course, was heavy, and truly Bœotian. But situations as little favoured by nature as Chæronea have given birth to the greatest men; of which the celebrated Locke and many others are instances.

Plutarch himself acknowledges the stupidity of the Bœotians in general; but he imputes it rather to their diet than to their air; for, in his Treatise on Animal Food, he intimates that a gross indulgence in that

article, which was usual with his countrymen contributes greatly to obscure the intellectual faculties.

It is not easy to ascertain in what year he was born. Ruauld places it about the middle of the reign of Claudius, others, towards the end of it.

Plutarch says, that he studied Philosophy under Ammonius, at Delphi when Nero made his progress into Greece. This we know was in the twelfth year of that emperor's reign, in the consulship of Paulinus Suetonius and Pontius Telesinus and year of Olympiad 211, A.D. 66. Dacier observes that Plutarch must have been seventeen or eighteen at least, when he was engaged in the abstruse studies of philosophy, and he therefore fixes his birth about five or six years before the death of Claudius. This however, is bare supposition. The youth of Greece studied under the philosophers very early, for their works with those of the poets and rhetoricians formed their chief course of discipline.

But to determine whether he was born under the reign of Claudius or in the early part of Nero's reign (which we the rather believe as he says himself, that he was very young when Nero entered Greece) to make it clearly understood whether he studied at Delphi at 10 or at 18 years of age, is of much less consequence than it is to know by what means, and under what auspices, he acquired that humane and rational philosophy which is distinguished in his works.

Ammonius was his preceptor, but of him we know little. He mentions a singular instance of his manner of correcting his pupils.

Our master (says he) having one day observed that we had indulged ourselves too luxuriously at dinner at his afternoon lecture ordered his freedman to give his own son the discipline of the whip in our presence, signifying at the same time that he suffered this punishment because he could not eat his victuals without sauce. The philosopher all the while had his eye upon us, and we knew well for whom this example of punishment was intended. This circumstance shows, at least, that Ammonius was not of the school of Epicurus. The severity of his discipline, indeed, seems rather of the Stoic cast, but it is most probable that he belonged to the Academicians, for their schools at that time had the greatest reputation in Greece.

It was a happy circumstance in the discipline of those schools that the parent only had the power of corporal punishment: the rod and the ferula were snatched from the hand of the petty tyrant: his office alone was to inform the mind, he had no authority to dastardize the spirit: he had no power to extinguish the generous flame of freedom, or to break down the noble independency of soul, by the slavish, debasing, and degrading application of the rod. This mode of punishment in our public schools is one of the worst remains of barbarism that prevails among us. Sensible minds however volatile and inattentive in early years, may be drawn to their duty by means, which shame and fears of a more liberal nature than those of corporal punishment will supply. Where there is but little sensibility the effect which that mode of punishment produces is not more happy. It destroys that little though it should be the first care and labour of the preceptor to increase it. To beat the body is to debase the mind. Nothing so soon or so totally abolishes the sense of shame and yet that sense is at once the best preservative of virtue, and the greatest incentive to every species of excellence.

Another principal advantage which the ancient mode of the Greek education gave its pupils was their early access to every branch of philosophical learning. They did not like us, employ their youth in the acquisition of words—they were engaged in pursuits of a higher nature—in acquiring the knowledge of things. They did not like us spend seven or ten years of scholastic labour in making a general acquaintance with two dead languages. Those years were employed in the study of nature and in learning the elements of philosophical knowledge from her original economy and laws.

The way to mathematical and philosophical knowledge was indeed much more easy among the ancient Greeks than it can ever be with us. Those, and every other science, are bound up in terms which we can never understand precisely till we become acquainted with the languages from which they are derived. Plutarch, when he learned the Roman language which was not till he was somewhat advanced in life, observed that he got the knowledge of words from his knowledge of things. But we lie under the necessity of reversing his method, and before we can arrive at the knowledge of things we must first labour to obtain the knowledge of words.

However, though the Greeks had access to science without the acquisition of other languages, they were, nevertheless, sufficiently attentive to the cultivation of their own. Philology, after the mathematics and philosophy, was one of their principal studies, and they applied themselves considerably to critical investigation.

A proof of this we find in that Dissertation which Plutarch hath given us on the word EI engraved on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. In this tract he introduces the scholastic disputes, wherein he makes a principal figure. After giving us the various significations which others assigned to this word he adds his own idea of it, and that is of some consequence to us, because it shews us that he was not a polytheist. "EI says he *Thou art!* as if it were to say, *Thou art one*. I mean not in the aggregate sense as we say, one army or one

body of men composed of many individuals, but that which exists distinctly must necessarily be one and the very idea of Being implies individuality One is that which is a simple being free from mixture and composition To be one, therefore, in this sense is consistent only with a nature entire in its first principle, and incapable of alteration or decay

So far we are perfectly satisfied with Plutarch's creed, but not with his criticism To suppose that the word ει should signify the existence of one God only, is to hazard too much upon conjecture, and the whole tenor of the Heathen theology makes against it

Nor can we be better pleased with the other interpretations of this celebrated word We can never suppose that it barely signified *if*, intimating thereby, that the business of those who visited the temple was inquiry, and that they came to ask the Deity *if* such events should come to pass This construction is too much forced, and it would do as well or even better were the ει interpreted, *if* you make large presents to the God, *if* you pay the priest

Were not this inscription an object of attention among the learned, we should not at this distant period of time have thought it worth mentioning, otherwise than as it gives us an idea of one branch of Plutarch's education But as a single word inscribed on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, cannot but be matter of curiosity with those who carry their enquiries into remote antiquity we shall not scruple to add one more to the other conjectures concerning it

We will suppose, then that the ει was here used in the Ionic dialect, for εἰμὶ *I wish* Thus perfectly expressed the state of mind of all that entered the temple on the business of consultation and it might be no less emphatical in the Greek than Virgil's *Quamquam O!* was in the Latin If we carry this conjecture farther and think it probable that this word might as the initial word of a celebrated line in the third book of the Odyssey stand there to signify the whole line, we shall reach a degree of probability almost bordering on certainty The verse we allude to is this "O that the Gods would empower me to obtain my wishes!" What prayer more proper on entering the temples of the Gods, particularly with the view of consulting them on the events of life

If it should be thought that the initial word is insufficient to represent a whole verse, we have to answer that it was agreeable to the custom of the ancients They not only conveyed the sense of particular verses by their initial words, but frequently of large passages by the quotation of a single line or even of half a line, some instances of which occur in the following Lives The reason of this is obvious The works of their best poets were almost universally committed to memory, and the smallest quotation was sufficient to convey the sense of a whole passage

These observations are matters of mere curiosity, indeed, but they have had their use for they have naturally pointed out to us another instance of the excellence of that education which formed our young philosopher This was the improvement of the memory by means of exercise Mr Locke has justly though obviously enough observed that nothing so much strengthens this faculty as the employment of it

The Greek mode of education must have had a wonderful effect in this case The continual exercise of the memory, in laying up the treasures of their poets, the precepts of their philosophers, and the problems of their mathematicians, must have given it that mechanical power of retention, which nothing could easily escape Thus Pliny (Hist Nat lib vii cap 24) tells us of a Greek called Charmides who could repeat from memory the contents of the largest library

The advantages Plutarch derived from this exercise appear in every part of his works As the writings of poets lived in his memory, they were ready for use and application on every apposite occasion They were always at hand, either to confirm the sentiments and justify the principles of his heroes, to support his own, or to illustrate both

By the aid of a cultivated memory too he was enabled to write a number of contemporary Lives and to assign to each such a portion of business in the general transactions of the times, as might be sufficient to delineate the character, without repeated details of the same actions and negotiations Thus made a very difficult part of his work and he acquitted himself here with great management and address Sometimes, indeed, he has repeated the same circumstances in cotemporary Lives, but it was hardly avoidable

But though an improved memory might, in this respect, be of service to him as undoubtedly it was, there were others in which it was rather a disadvantage By trusting too much to it, he has fallen into inaccuracies and inconsistencies, where he was professedly drawing from preceding writers, and we have often been obliged to rectify his mistakes, by consulting those authors, because he would not be at the pains to consult them himself

If Plutarch might properly be said to be long to any sect of philosophers, his education, the rationality of his principles, and the modesty of his doctrines would incline us to place him with the latter academy At least when he left his master Ammonius, and came into society, it is more than probable that he ranked particularly with that sect

His writings, however, furnish us with many reasons for thinking that he afterwards became a citizen of the whole civilized world He appears to have examined

every sect with a calm and unprejudiced attention to have selected what he found of use for the purposes of virtue and happiness, and to have left the rest for the portion of those whose narrowness of mind could think either science or felicity confined to any denomination of men

From the Academicians he took their modesty of opinion, and left them their original scepticism. He borrowed their rational theology, and gave up to them, in a great measure, together with their vain, though seductive, enthusiasm

With the Peripatetics he walked in search of natural science and of logic, but, satisfied with whatever portion of knowledge might be acquired, he left them to dream over the hypothetical part of the former, and to chase the shadows of reason through the mazes of the latter

To the Stoics he was indebted for the belief of a particular Providence, but he could not enter into their idea of future rewards and punishments. He knew not how to reconcile the present tendency of the Supreme Being with his judicial character hereafter. Nothing of Plutarch's is now extant from which we can infer that he was acquainted with the Christian religion. From the Stoics too, he borrowed the doctrine of fortitude, but he rejected the unnatural foundation on which they erected that virtue. He went back to Socrates for principles whereon to rest it.

With the Epicureans he does not seem to have had much intercourse, though the accommodating philosophy of Aristippus entered frequently into his politics, and sometimes into the general economy of his life. In the little states of Greece, that philosophy had not much to do, but had it been adopted in the more violent measures of the Roman Administration, our celebrated biographer would not have had such scenes of blood and ruin to describe, for emulation, prejudice and opposition upon whatever principles they might plead their apology, first struck out the fire that laid the commonwealth in ashes. If Plutarch borrowed anything more from Epicurus it was his rational idea of enjoyment. That such was his idea is more than probable, for it is impossible to believe the tales that the Heathen bigots have told of him, or to suppose that the cultivated mind of a philosopher should pursue its happiness out of the temperate order of nature. His irreligious opinions he left to him, as he had left to the other sects their vanities and absurdities.

But when we bring him to the school of Pythagoras, what idea shall we entertain of him? Shall we consider him any longer as an Academician, or as a citizen of the philosophical world? Naturally benevolent and humane he finds a system of divinity and philosophy perfectly adapted to his natural sentiments. The whole animal creation he had originally looked upon with an instinctive tenderness, but when the amiable Pythagoras, the priest of Nature, in defence of the common privileges of her creatures had called religion into their cause—when he sought to soften the cruelty that man had exercised against them, by the honest art of insinuating the doctrine of transmigration, how could the humane and benevolent Plutarch refuse to serve under this priest of Nature? It was impossible. He adopted the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. He entered into the merciful scheme of Pythagoras, and, like him diverted the cruelty of the human species by appealing to the selfish qualities of their nature by subduing their pride and exciting their sympathy while he showed them that their future existence might be the condition of a reptile.

This spirit and disposition break strongly from him in his observations on the elder Cato. And as nothing can exhibit a more lively picture of him than these paintings of his own we shall not scruple to introduce them here. 'For my part, I cannot but charge his son, his servants like so many beasts of burden and turning them off or selling them when they grew old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit which thinks that the sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice. The obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, but kindness and beneficence should be extended to creatures of every species, and these still flow from the breast of a well natured man as streams that issue from the living fountain. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service. We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household goods, which, when worn out with use we throw away, and were it only to learn benevolence to humankind we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own part I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me, much less would I remove, for the sake of a little money, a man grown old in my service from his usual lodgings and diet, for to him, poor man! it would be as bad as banishment, since he could be of no more use to the buyer than he was to the seller.'

What an amiable idea of our benevolent philosopher! How worthy the instructions of the priest of Nature! How honourable to that great master of truth and universal science, whose sentiments were decisive in every doubtful matter, and whose maxims were received with silent conviction! (Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 15.)

Wherefore should we wonder to find Plutarch more particularly attached to the opinions of this great man? Whether we consider the immensity of his erudition, or the benevolence of his system, the motives for that attachment were equally powerful. Pythagoras had collected all the stores of

human learning, and had reduced them into one rational and useful body of science. Like our glorious Lord, he led philosophy forth from the jargon of schools and the fopperies of sects. He made her what she was originally designed to be, the hand-maid of Nature, friendly to her creatures and faithful to her laws. Whatever knowledge could be gained by human industry, by the most extensive inquiry and observation, he had every means and opportunity to obtain. The priests of Egypt unfolded to him their mysteries and their learning; they led him through the records of the remotest antiquity and opened all those stores of science that had been amassing through a multitude of ages. The Magi of Persia co-operated with the priests of Egypt in the instruction of this wonderful philosopher. They taught him those higher parts of science by which they were themselves so much distinguished—astronomy and the system of the universe. The laws of moral life and the institutions of civil societies with their several excellencies and defects he learned from the various states and establishments of Greece. Thus accomplished when he came to dispute in the Olympic contests, he was considered as a prodigy of wisdom and learning. But when the choice of his title was left to him, he modestly declined the appellation of a *wise man*, and was contented only to be called a *lover of wisdom* (Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 7).

Shall not Plutarch then meet with all imaginable indulgence, if in his veneration for this great man he not only adopted the nobler parts of his philosophy, but (what he had avowed with regard to the other sects) followed him too in his errors? Such in particular was his doctrine of dreams! to which our biographer we must confess has paid too much attention. Yet, absolutely to condemn him for this would perhaps be hazarding as much as totally to defend him. We must acknowledge with the elder Pliny *Sexcentis egregiæ profecto fuere fides* (Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 75), or in the language of honest Sir Roger de Coverley, Much may be said on both sides. However if Homer, whose complaisance for the credit of the marvellous in particular was very great, could be doubtful about this matter, we of little faith may be allowed to be more so. Yet Plutarch in his Treatise on Oracles has maintained his doctrine by such powerful testimonies that if any regard is to be paid to his veracity, some attention should be given to his opinion.

When Zeno consulted the oracle in what manner he should live, the answer was, that he should inquire of the dead. Assiduous and indefatigable application to reading made a considerable part of the Greek education; and in this our biographer seems to have exerted the greatest industry. The number of books he has quoted to which he has referred, and from which he has written, seems almost incredible, when it is considered that the art of printing was not known in his time, and that the purchase of manuscripts was difficult and dear.

His family indeed was not without wealth. In his Symposiacs he tells us, that it was ancient in Chæronea, and that his ancestors had been invested with the most considerable offices in the magistracy. He mentions in particular his great grandfather Nicarchus, whom he had the happiness of knowing, and relates from his authority, the misfortunes of his fellow citizens under the severe discipline of Antony's soldiers.

His grandfather Lamprias he tells us was a man of great eloquence and of a brilliant imagination. He was distinguished by his merit as a convivial companion, and was one of those happy mortals who, when they sacrifice to Bacchus are favoured by Mercury. His good humour and pleasantry increased with his cups, and he used to say that wine had the same effect upon him that fire has on incense, which causes the finest and richest essences to evaporate.

Plutarch has mentioned his father likewise, but has not given us his name. However he has borne honourable testimony to his memory, for he tells us that he was a learned and a virtuous man, well acquainted with the philosophy and theology of his time, and conversant with the works of the poets. Plutarch in his Political Precepts mentions an instance of his father's discretion which does him great honour. I remember, says he, that I was sent when a very young man along with another citizen of Chæronea on an embassy to the proconsul. My colleague being by some accident obliged to stop in the way, I proceeded without him and executed our commission. Upon my return to Chæronea, when I was to give an account in public of my negotiation, my father took me aside and said, My son, take care that in the account you are about to give you do not mention yourself distinctly, but jointly with your colleague. Say not *I went, I spoke, I executed*, but *we went, we spoke, we executed*. Thus though your colleague was incapable of attending you, he will share in the honour of your success as well as in that of your appointment; and you will avoid that envy which necessarily follows all arrogated merit.

Plutarch had two brothers, whose names were Timon and Lamprias. These were his associates in study and amusement, and he always speaks of them with pleasure and affection. Of Timon in particular he says, Though Fortune has on many occasions been favourable to me, yet I have no obligations to her so great as the enjoyment of my brother Timon, an invariable friendship and kindness. Lamprias too he mentions as inheriting the lively disposition and good humour of his grandfather.

Some writers have asserted that Plutarch passed into Egypt. Others allege that there is no authority for that assertion; and it is true that we have no written record concerning it. Nevertheless, we incline to believe that he did travel into that country; and we found our opinion on the following grounds. In the first place, this tour was a part of liberal education among the Greeks; and Plutarch, being descended from a family of distinction, was therefore likely to enjoy such a privilege. In the next place, his treatise of Isis and Osiris shews that he had a more than common knowledge of the religious mysteries of the Egyptians; and it is therefore highly probable that he obtained this knowledge by being conversant amongst them. To have written a treatise on so abstruse a subject, without some more eminent advantages than other writers might afford him could not have been agreeable to the genius, or consistent with the modesty of Plutarch.

However, there is no doubt at all that he travelled into Italy. Upon what occasion he visited that country it is not quite so certain; but he probably went to Rome in a public capacity, on the business of the Chæroneans. For, in the life of Demosthenes, he tells us that he had no leisure in his journey to Italy to learn the Latin language, on the account of public business.

As the passage here referred to affords us further matter of speculation for the life of Plutarch, we shall give it as we find it. "An author who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own, as he has his materials to collect from a variety of books, dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town; and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people who came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life that I began to read the Roman authors."

Plutarch tells us, that while he was resident in Rome, public business and lectures in philosophy left him no time for learning the Latin language.

We may, therefore, conclude that he wrote his Morals at Rome, and his Lives at Chæronea. For the composition of the former, the knowledge of the Roman language was not necessary: the Greek tongue was then generally understood in Rome; and he had no necessity for making use of any other when he delivered his lectures of philosophy to the people. Those lectures, it is more than probable, made up that collection of Morals which is come down to us.

Though he could not avail himself of the Roman historians, in the great purpose of writing his Lives, for want of a competent acquaintance with the language in which they wrote, yet, by conversing with the principal citizens in the Greek tongue, he must have collected many essential circumstances and anecdotes of characters and events that promoted his design and enriched the plan of his work. The treasures he acquired of this kind he secured by means of a common-place book, which he constantly carried about with him; and as it appears that he was at Rome and in other parts of Italy from the beginning of Vespasian's reign to the end of Trajan's, almost forty years, he must have had sufficient time and opportunity to procure materials of every kind.

We shall the more readily enter into the belief that Plutarch collected his materials chiefly from conversation when we consider in what manner, and on what subjects, the ancients used to converse. The discourse of people of education and distinction in those days was somewhat different from that of ours. The powers of poetry and philosophy, the economy of human life and manners, the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, the enlargement of the mind, historical and political discussions on the events of their country—these, and such subjects as these, made the principal part of their conversation. Of this Plutarch has given us at once a proof and a specimen, in what he calls his Symposiacs, or, as our Selden calls it, his Table-Talk. From such conversations as these, then, we cannot wonder that he was able to collect such treasures as were necessary for the maintenance of his biographical undertaking.

"My method of learning the Roman language," says he, "may seem strange; and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things." This plainly implies that he was previously acquainted with the events described in the language he was learning.

It must be owned that the Roman History had been already written in Greek, by Polybius; and that, indeed, somewhat invalidates the last-mentioned argument. Nevertheless, it has still sufficient evidence for its support. There are a thousand circumstances in Plutarch's Lives which could not be collected from Polybius; and it is clear to us that he did not make much use of his Latin reading.

He acknowledges that he did not apply himself to the acquisition of that language till he was far advanced in life; possibly it might be about the latter part of the

reign of Trajan, whose kind disposition towards his country rendered the weight of public and political business easy to him.

But whenever he might begin to learn the language of Rome it is certain that he made no great progress in it. This appears as well from the little comments he has occasionally given us on certain Latin words, as from some passages in his Lives where he has professedly followed the Latin historians, and yet followed them in an uncertain and erroneous manner.

That he wrote the Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero at Chæronea, it is clear from his own account; and it is more than probable, too, that the rest of his Lives were written in that retirement, for if while he was at Rome, he could scarcely find time to learn the language, it is hardly to be supposed that he could do more than lay up materials for composition.

A circumstance arises here which confirms to us an opinion we have long entertained, that the Book of Apopthegms, which is said to have been written by Plutarch, is really not his work. This book is dedicated to Trajan, and the dedicator, assuming the name and character of Plutarch, says he had before this written the Lives of Illustrious Men, but Plutarch wrote those Lives at Chæronea, and he did not retire to Chæronea till after the death of Trajan.

There are other proofs to show that this work was suppositious, for, in this dedication to Trajan, not the least mention is made of Plutarch's having been his preceptor, of his being raised by him to the consular dignity or of his being appointed governor of Illyria. Dacier observing this has drawn a wrong conclusion from it, and contrary to the assertion of Suidas, will have it that Plutarch was neither preceptor to Trajan, nor honoured with any appointments under him. Had it occurred to him that the Book of Apopthegms could not be Plutarch's book, but that it was merely an extract made from his real works by some industrious grammarian he would not have been under the necessity of hazarding so much against the received opinion of his connections with Trajan, nor would he have found it necessary to allow him so little credit to his letter addressed to that emperor, which we have upon record. The letter is as follows —

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN —"I am sensible that you sought not the empire. Your natural modesty would not suffer you to apply for a distinction to which you were always entitled by the excellency of your manners. That modesty however, makes you still more worthy of those honours you had no ambition to solicit. Should your future government prove in any degree answerable to your former merit I shall have reason to congratulate both your virtue and my own good fortune on this great event. But if otherwise, you have exposed yourself to danger, and me to obloquy, for Rome will never endure an emperor unworthy of her, and the faults of the scholar will be imputed to the master. Seneca is reproached and his fame still suffers, for the vices of Nero, the reputation of Quintilian is hurt by the ill conduct of his scholars, and even Socrates is accused of negligence in the education of Alcibiades. Of you however, I have better hopes, and flatter myself that your administration will do honour to your virtues. Only continue to be what you are. Let your government commence in your breast, and try the foundation of it in the command of your passions. If you make virtue the rule of your conduct and the end of your actions everything will proceed in harmony and order. I have explained to you the spirit of those laws and constitutions that were established by your predecessors, and you have nothing to do but to carry them into execution. If this should be the case, I shall have the glory of having formed an emperor to virtue, but if otherwise let this letter remain a testimony with succeeding ages that you did not ruin the Roman empire under pretence of the counsels or the authority of Plutarch."

This letter has all the spirit, the manly freedom, and the sentimental turn of that philosopher.

We shall find it no very difficult matter to account for his connections with Trajan, if we attend to the manner in which he lived, and to the reception he met with in Rome. During his residence in that city, his house was the resort of the principal citizens. All that were distinguished by their rank, taste, learning or politeness, sought his conversation and attended his lectures. The study of the Greek language and philosophy were, at that time the greatest pursuits of the Roman nobility, and even the emperors honoured the most celebrated professors with their presence and support. Plutarch, in his Treatise on Curiosity, has introduced a circumstance which places the attention that was paid to his lectures in a very strong light. "It once happened, says he, 'that when I was speaking in public at Rome, Arulenus Rusticus the same whom Domitian, through envy of his growing reputation, afterwards put to death, was one of my hearers. When I was in the middle of my discourse, a soldier came in, and brought him a letter from the emperor. Upon this there was a general silence through the audience, and I stopped to give him time to peruse this letter, but he would not suffer it, nor did he open the letter till I had finished my lecture and the audience was dispersed."

To understand the importance of this compliment, it will be necessary to consider the quality and character of the person who paid it. Arulenus was one of the greatest men in Rome, distinguished as well by the lustre of his family as by an honourable ambition and thirst of glory. He was

tribune of the people when Nero caused Paetus and Soranus to be capitally condemned by a decree of the senate. When Soranus was deliberating with his friends whether he should attempt or give up his defence, Arulenus had the spirit to propose an opposition to the decree of the senate, in his capacity of tribune; and he would have carried it into execution had he not been overruled by Paetus, who remonstrated that by such a measure he would destroy himself, without the satisfaction of serving his friend. He was afterwards praetor after Vitellius, whose interests he followed with the greatest fidelity. But his spirit and magnanimity do him the greatest honour, in that eulogy which he wrote on Paetus and Helvidius Priscus. His whole conduct was regulated by the precepts of philosophy; and the respect he showed to Plutarch on this occasion was a proof of his attachment to it. Such was the man who postponed the letter of a prince to the lecture of a philosopher.

But Plutarch was not only treated with general marks of distinction by the superior people in Rome; he had particular and very respectable friendships. Sossius Senecio, who was four times consul—once under Nerva and thrice under Trajan—was his most intimate friend. To him he addresses his Lives, except that of Aratus, which is inscribed to Polycrates of Sycion, the grandson of Aratus. With Senecio he not only lived in the strictest friendship whilst he was in Rome, but corresponded with him after he retired to Greece. And is it not easy to believe, that through the interest of this zealous and powerful friend, Plutarch might not only be appointed tutor to Trajan, but be advanced likewise to the consular dignity? When we consider Plutarch's eminence in Rome as a teacher of philosophy, nothing can be more probable than the former; when we remember the consular interest of Senecio under Trajan, and his distinguished regard for Plutarch, nothing can be more likely than the latter.

The honour of being preceptor to such a virtuous prince as Trajan is so important a point in the life of Plutarch, that it must not hastily be given up. Suidas has asserted it. The letter above quoted, if it be, as we have no doubt of its being, the genuine composition of Plutarch, has confirmed it. Petrarch has maintained it. Dacier only has doubted, or rather denied it. But upon what evidence has he grounded his opinion? Plutarch, he says, was but three or four years older than Trajan, and therefore was unfit to be his preceptor in philosophy. Now let us inquire into the force of this argument. Trajan spent the early part of his life in arms; Plutarch in the study of the sciences. When that prince applied himself to literary pursuits, he was somewhat advanced in life. Plutarch must have been more so. And why a man of science should be an unfit preceptor in philosophy to a military man, though no more than four years older, the reason, we apprehend, will be somewhat difficult to discover.

Dacier, moreover, is reduced to a *petitio principii*, when he says that Plutarch was only four years older than Trajan; for we have seen that it is impossible to ascertain the time of Plutarch's birth; and the date which Dacier assigns it is purely conjectural. We will, therefore, conclude, with those learned men who have formerly allowed Plutarch the honour of being preceptor to Trajan, that he certainly was so. There is little doubt that they grounded their assertions upon proper authority; and, indeed, the internal evidences arising from the nature and effects of that education, which did honour to the scholar and to the master, comes in aid of the argument.

Some chronologers have taken upon them to ascertain the time when Plutarch's reputation was established in Rome. Peter of Alexandria fixes it in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, in the consulate of Capito and Rufus: "Lucian," says he, "was at this time in great reputation amongst the Romans; and Musonius and Plutarch were well known." Eusebius brings it one year lower, and tells us, that in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign, Musonius and Plutarch were in great reputation. Both these writers are palpably mistaken. We have seen, that in the twelfth year of Nero, Plutarch was yet at school under Ammonius; and it is not very probable that a school-boy should be celebrated as a philosopher in Rome within a year or two after. Indeed, Eusebius contradicts himself; for, on another occasion, he places him in the reign of Adrian, the third year of the Olympiad 224, A.D. 120: "In this year," says he, "the philosophers, Plutarch of Chaeronea, Sextus, and Agathobulus flourished." It is certain that he first grew into reputation under the reign of Vespasian, and that his philosophical fame was established in the time of Trajan.

It seems that the Greek and Latin writers of those times were either little acquainted with each other's works, or that there were some literary jealousies and animosities between them. When Plutarch flourished, there were several contemporary writers of distinguished abilities: Perseus, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, the younger Pliny, Sofinus, Martial, Quintilian, and many more. Yet none of those have made the least mention of him. Was this envy, or was it Roman pride? Possibly they could not bear that a Greek sophist, a native of such a town as Chaeronea, should enjoy the palm of literary praise in Rome. The principal Roman writers had conceived a jealousy of the Greek philosophers, which was very prevailing in that age. Of this we find a strong testimony in the elder Pliny, where, speaking of Cato the Censor's disapproving and dismissing the Grecian orators, and of the younger Cato's bringing in triumph a sophist from Greece, he

exclaims, in terms that signified contempt, *quantis morum commutatio!*

However, to be undistinguished by the successors of contemporary writers was by no means a thing peculiar to Plutarch It has been, and still is, the fate of superior genius to be beheld either with silent or abusive envy It strikes its way like the sun, which we look upon with pain, unless something passes over him that obscures his glory We then view with eagerness the shadow, the cloud or the spot, and are pleased with what eclipses the brightness we otherwise cannot bear

Yet if Plutarch, like other great men, found "Envy never conquered but by death," his manes have been appeased by the amplest atonements Amongst the many that have done honour to his memory, the following eulogiums deserve to be recorded —Aulus Gellius compliments him with the highest distinction in science (Gellius lib iv cap 7) Taurus, quoted by Gellius, calls him a man of the most consummate learning and wisdom (Gell lib i cap 26) Eusebius places him at the head of the Greek philosophers (Euseb Præp lib iv init) Suidas, in his Preface to the Lives of the Philosophers, calls him the most divine Plutarch, the beauty and harmony of philosophy Petrarch, in his moral writings, frequently distinguishes him by the title of the great Plutarch Honour has been done to him likewise by Origen, Himerius the Sophist, Cyrillus, Theodoret, Suidas, Photius, Xiphilinus Joannes Sahsberiensis, Victorius, Lipsius, and Agathias, in the epigram which is thus translated by Dryden —

> Chæronean Plutarch to thy deathless praise
> Does mortal Rome thus grateful statues raise,
> Because both Greece and she thy fame have shared
> Their heroes written and their lives compared
> Thou thyself could'st never write thy own
> Their lives have parallels but thine is none

We are much better pleased with the Greek verses of the honest metropolitan under Constantine Monomachus —

> Lord if that light that living power to save
> Which for lost sons no ransom'd blood gave,
> If amidst those thy mercy means to spare
> Hold Plato, Lord, yield Plutarch to my prayer
> Led by no grace no new conversion wrought,
> Thou felt thy own divinity of thought
> That grace exerted, spare the partial rod
> This best, best witness that thou art their God!

Theodore Gaza, who was a man of considerable learning, and a great reviver of letters, had a particular attachment to our biographer When he was asked in case of a general destruction of books, what author he would wish to save from the ruin, he answered Plutarch He considered his historical and philosophical writings as the most beneficial to society and of course, the best substitute for all other books

Were it necessary to produce further suffrages for the merit of Plutarch, it would be sufficient to say that he has been praised by Montaigne, St Evremont, and Moliere, the best critics and the ablest writers of their time

After receiving the most distinguished honours that a philosopher could enjoy; after the god like office of teaching wisdom and goodness to the metropolis of the world, after having formed an emperor to virtue, and after beholding the effects of his precepts in the happiness of humankind, Plutarch retired to his native country The death of his illustrious prince and pupil, to a man of his sensibility, must have rendered Rome even painful, for whatever influence philosophy may have on the cultivation of the mind, we find that it has very little power over the interests of the heart

It must have been in the decline of life that Plutarch retired to Chæronea But though he withdrew from the busier scenes of the world, he fled not to an unprofitable or inactive solitude In that retirement he formed the great work for which he had so long been preparing materials—his Lives of Illustrious Men, a work which, as Scaliger says, *non solum fuit in omnibus hominum, ut etiam humanas genesis me meriam occupavit*

To observe where the biographer has excelled, and in what he has failed to make a due estimate as well of the defects as of the merits of his work, may have its use

Lipsius has observed that he does not write history, but scraps of history *non historiam, sed particulas historiæ* This is said of his Lives and, in one sense it is true No single life that he has written will afford a sufficient history of its proper period, neither was it possible that it should do so As his plan comprised a number of contemporary lives, most of which were in public characters, the business of their period was to be divided amongst them The general history of the time was to be thrown into separate portions and those portions were to be allotted to such characters as had the principal interest in the several events

This was, in some measure done by Plutarch, but it was not done with great art or accuracy At the same time, it is not to be wondered if there were some repetitions, when the part which the several characters bore in the principal events was necessary to be pointed out

Yet these scraps of history, thus divided and dispersed, when seen in a collective form make no very imperfect narrative of the times within their view Their biographer's attention to the minuter circumstances of character, his disquisitions of principles and manners, and his political and philosophical discussions, lead us, in an easy and intelligent manner, to the events he describes

His narratives are sometimes disorderly, and too often encumbered with impertinent digressions By pursuing with too much

indulgence the train of ideas, he has frequently destroyed the order of facts, brought together events that lay at a distance from each other, and called forward those circumstances to which he should have made a regular progress.

Notes, in the time of Plutarch, were not in use. Had he known the convenience of marginal writing, he would certainly have thrown the greatest part of his digressions into that form. They are undoubtedly tedious; and all that we can do to reconcile ourselves to them is to remember that, in the first place, marginal writing was a thing unknown; and that the benevolent desire of conveying instruction was the greatest motive with the biographer for introducing them, as they are chiefly disquisitions in natural history and philosophy.

In painting the manners of men, Plutarch is truly excellent. Nothing can be more clear than his moral distinctions; nothing finer than his delineations of the mind.

The spirit of philosophical observation and inquiry, which, when properly directed, is the great ornament and excellence of historical composition, Plutarch possessed in an eminent degree. His biographical writings teach philosophy at once by precept and by example. His morals and his characters mutually explain and give force to each other.

His sentiments of the duty of a biographer were peculiarly just and delicate. This will appear from his strictures on those historians who wrote of Philistus. "It is plain," says he, "that Timæus takes every occasion, from Philistus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to load him with the heaviest reproaches. Those whom he injured are in some degree excusable, if, in their resentment, they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore should his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works—wherefore should they exhibit him, with all the exaggerations of scurrility, in those scenes of distress to which fortune sometimes reduces the best of men? On the other hand, Ephorus is no less extravagant in his encomiums on Philistus. He knows well how to throw into shades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plausibility to the most indefensible conduct. But with all his elegance, with all his heart, he cannot rescue Philistus from the imputation of being the most strenuous supporter of arbitrary power, of being the fondest follower and admirer of the luxury, the magnificence, the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philistus, nor exults over his misfortunes, will best discharge the duties of the historian."

There is such a thing as constitutional religion. There is a certain temper and frame of mind naturally productive of devotion. There are men who are born with the original principles of piety; and in this class we need not hesitate to place Plutarch.

If this disposition has sometimes made him too indulgent to superstition, and too attentive to the less rational circumstances of the heathen theology, it is not to be wondered at. But, upon the whole, he had consistent and honourable notions of the Supreme Being.

That he believed the unity of the Divine Nature, we have already seen in his observations on the word ει, engraved on Apollo's temple. The same opinion, too, is found in his Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles; where, in the character of a Platonist, he argues against the Stoics, who denied the plurality of worlds. "If there are many worlds," said the Stoics, "why then is there only one Fate, and one Providence to guide them; for the Platonists allow that there is but one? Why should not many Jupiters, or Gods, be necessary for the government of many worlds?" To this Plutarch answers, "Where is the necessity of supposing many Jupiters for this plurality of worlds? Is not one excellent Being, endued with reason and intelligence, such as He is whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, sufficient to direct and rule these worlds? If there were more supreme agents, their decrees would be vain, and contradictory to each other."

But though Plutarch acknowledged the individuality of the Supreme Being, he believed, nevertheless, in the existence of intermediate beings of an inferior order, between the divine and the human nature. These beings he calls genii, or dæmons. It is impossible, he thinks, from the general order and principles of creation, that there should be no mean betwixt the two extremes of a mortal and immortal being; that there cannot be in nature so great a vacuum without some intermediate species of life, which might in some measure partake of both. And as we find the connection between soul and body to be made by means of the animal spirits, so these dæmons are intelligences between divinity and humanity. Their nature, however, is believed to be progressive. At first they are supposed to have been virtuous men, whose souls, being refined from the gross parts of their former existence, are admitted into the higher order of genii, and are from thence either raised to a more exalted mode of ethereal being, or degraded to mortal forms, according to their merit or their degeneracy. One order of these genii, he supposes, presided over oracles; others administered, under the Supreme Being, the affairs and the fortunes of men, supporting the virtuous, punishing the bad, and sometimes even communicating with the best and purest natures. Thus the genius of Socrates still warned him of approaching danger, and taught him to avoid it.

It is this order of beings which the late Mr. Thomson, who in enthusiasm was a Platonist, and in benevolence a Pythagorean, has so beautifully described in his

Seasons; and, as if the good bard had believed the doctrine, he pathetically invokes a favourite spirit which had lately forsaken its former mansion:—

> And art thou, Stanley, of that sacred band?
> Alas, for us too soon!

Such were Plutarch's religious principles; and as a proof that he thought them of consequence, he entered, after his retirement, into a sacred character, and was consecrated priest of Apollo.

This was not his sole appointment when he returned to Chæronea. He united the sacerdotal with the magisterial character, and devoted himself at once to the service of the gods and to the duties of society.

He did not think that philosophy, or the pursuit of letters, ought to exempt any man from personal service in the community to which he belonged; and though his literary labours were of the greatest importance to the world, he sought no excuse in those from discharging offices of public trust in his little city of Chæronea.

It appears that he passed through several of these offices, and that he was at last appointed archon, or chief magistrate of the city. Whether he retained his superintendence of Illyria after the death of Trajan we do not certainly know; but, in this humble sphere, it will be worth our while to inquire in what manner a philosopher would administer justice.

With regard to the inferior offices that he bore, he looked upon them in the same light as the great Epaminondas had done, who, when he was appointed to a commission beneath his rank, observed, "that no office could give dignity to him that held it; but that he who held it might give dignity to any office." It is not unentertaining to hear our philosopher apologize for his employment when he discharges the office of commissioner of sewers and public buildings. "I make no doubt," says he, "that the citizens of Chæronea often smile when they see me employed in such offices as these. On such occasions, I generally call to mind what is said of Antisthenes. When he was bringing home, in his own hands, a dirty fish from the market, some who observed it expressed their surprise. 'It is for myself,' said Antisthenes, 'that I carry this fish.' On the contrary, for my own part, when I am rallied for measuring tiles, or for calculating a quantity of stones or mortar, I answer, that it is *not* for myself I do these things, but for my country. For, in all things of this nature, the public utility takes off the disgrace; and the meaner the office you sustain may be, the greater is the compliment that you pay to the public."

Plutarch, in the capacity of a public magistrate, was indefatigable in recommending unanimity to the citizens. To carry this point more effectually, he lays it down, as a first principle, that a magistrate should be affable and easy of access; that his house should always be open as a place of refuge for those who sought for justice; and that he should not satisfy himself merely with allotting certain hours of the day to sit for the despatch of business, but that he should employ a part of his time in private negotiations, in making up domestic quarrels, and reconciling divided friends. This employment he regarded as one of the principal parts of his office; and, indeed, he might properly consider it in a political light, for it too frequently happens that the most dangerous public factions are at first kindled by private misunderstandings. Thus, in one part of his works, he falls into the same sentiment: "As public conflagrations," says he "do not always begin in public edifices, but are caused more frequently by some lamp neglected in a private house; so in the administration of states, it does not always happen that the flame of sedition arises from political differences, but from private dissensions, which, running through a long chain of connections, at length affect the whole body of the people. For this reason, it is one of the principal duties of a minister of state or magistrate to heal these private animosities, and to prevent them from growing into public divisions." After these observations, he mentions several states and cities which had owed their ruin to the same little causes; and then adds, that we ought not by any means to be inattentive to the misunderstandings of private men, but apply to them the most timely remedies; for, by proper care, as Cato observes, what is great becomes little, and what is little is reduced to nothing. Of the truth of these observations, the annals of our own country—we wish we had no reason to say our own times—have presented us with many melancholy instances.

As Plutarch observed that it was a fashionable fault amongst men of fortune to refuse a proper respect to magistrates of inferior rank, he endeavoured to remove this impolitic evil as well by precept as by example. "To learn obedience and deference to the magistrate," says he, "is one of the first and best principles of discipline; nor ought these by any means to be dispensed with, though that magistrate should be inferior to us in figure or in fortune. For how absurd is it, if, in theatrical exhibitions, the meanest actor that wears a momentary diadem shall receive his due respect from superior players; and yet, in civil life, men of greater power or wealth shall withhold the deference that is due to the magistrate! In this case, however, they should remember that while they consult their own importance, they detract from the honour of the state. Private dignity ought always to give place to public authority; as, in Sparta, it was usual for the kings to rise in compliment to the Ephori."

With regard to Plutarch's political principles, it is clear that he was, even whilst at Rome, a republican in heart, and a friend

to liberty; but this does him no peculiar honour. Such privileges are the birthright of mankind; and they are never parted with but through fear or favour. At Rome, he acted like a philosopher of the world. *Quando non sicome in Roma, nel facismo come Englese fanno in Roma.* He found a constitution which he had not power to alter; yet, though he could not make mankind free, he made them comparatively happy by teaching clemency to their temporary ruler.

At Chæronea we find him more openly avowing the principles of liberty. During his residence at Rome he had remarked an essential error in the police. In all complaints and processes, however trifling, the people had recourse to the first officers of state. By this means they supposed that their interest would be promoted; but it had a certain tendency to enslave them still more, and to render them the tools and dependents of court power. Of these measures the archon of Chæronea thus expresses his disapprobation: "At the same time," says he, "that we endeavour to render a city obedient to its magistrates, we must beware of reducing it to a servile or too humiliating a condition. Those who carry every trifle to the cognisance of the supreme magistrate are contributing all they can to the servitude of their country."

And it is undoubtedly true that the habitual and universal exertion of authority has a natural tendency to arbitrary dominion.

We have now considered Plutarch in the light of a philosopher, a biographer, and a magistrate; we have entered into his moral, religious, and political character, as well as the information we could obtain would enable us. It only remains that we view him in the domestic sphere of life—that little, but trying sphere, where we act wholly from ourselves, and assume no character but that which nature and education have given us.

Dacier, on falling into this part of Plutarch's history, has made a whimsical observation: "There are two cardinal points," says he, "in a man's life which determine his happiness or his misery. These are his birth and his marriage. It is in vain for a man to be born fortunate, if he be unfortunate in his marriage." How Dacier could reconcile the astrologers to this new doctrine it is not easy to say; for, upon this principle, a man must at least have two good stars—one for his birthday, the other for his wedding-day; as it seems that the influence of the natal star could not extend beyond the bridal morn, but that a man then falls under a different dominion.

At what time Plutarch entered into this state we are not quite certain; but as it is not probable that a man of his wisdom would marry at an advanced time of life, and as his wife was a native of Chæronea, we may conclude that he married before he went to Rome. However that might be, it appears that he was fortunate in his choice; for his wife, Timoxena, was not only well-born and well-bred, but a woman of distinguished sense and virtue.

Plutarch appears to have had at least five children by her, four sons and a daughter—Timoxena. He has given us a proof that he had all the tenderness of an affectionate father for these children, by recording a little instance of his daughter's natural benevolence. "When she was very young," says he, "she would frequently beg of her nurse to give the breast, not only to the other children, but to her babies and dolls, which she considered as her dependants, and under her protection." Who does not see, in this simple circumstance, at once the fondness of the parent, and the benevolent disposition of the man.

But the philosopher soon lost his little blossom of humanity. She died in her infancy; and if we may judge from the consolatory letter he wrote to her mother on the occasion, he bore the loss as became a philosopher. "Consider," said he "that death has deprived your Timoxena only of small enjoyments. The things she knew were but of little consequence, and she could be delighted only with trifles." In this letter we find a portrait of his wife, which does her the greatest honour. From the testimony given by her husband, it appears that she was far above the general weakness and affectation of her sex. She had no passion for the expensiveness of dress, or the parade of public appearances. She thought every kind of extravagance blameable; and her ambition went not beyond the decencies and the proprieties of life.

Plutarch had before this buried two of his sons—his eldest son, and a younger named Charon; and the conduct of Timoxena, on these events, was worthy the wife of a philosopher. She did not disfigure herself by change of apparel, or give way to the extravagance of grief, as women in general do on such occasions, but supported the dispensations of Providence with a solemn and rational submission, even when they seemed to be most severe. She had taken unwearied pains, and undergone the greatest sufferings, to nurse her son Charon at her own breast, at a time when an abscess, formed near the part, had obliged her to undergo an incision. Yet when the child, reared with so much tender pain and difficulty, died, those who went to visit her on the melancholy occasion found her house in no more disorder than if nothing distressing had happened. She received her friends as Admetus entertained Hercules, who, the same day that he buried Alceste, betrayed not the least confusion before his heroic guest.

With a woman of so much dignity of mind and excellence of disposition, a man of Plutarch's wisdom and humanity must have been infinitely happy; and, indeed, it

appears from those precepts of conjugal happiness and affection which he has left us, that he has drawn his observations from experience, and that the rules he recommended had been previously exemplified in his own family

It is said that Plutarch had some misunderstanding with his wife's relations, upon which Timoxena, fearing that it might affect their union had duty and religion enough to go as far as Mount Helicon, and sacrifice to Love, who had a celebrated temple there

He left two sons, Plutarch and Lamprias The latter appears to have been a philosopher and it is to him we are indebted for a catalogue of his father's writings, which, however, one cannot look upon as Mr Dryden says without the same emotions that a merchant must feel in perusing a bill of freight after he has lost his vessel The writings no longer extant are these —

The Lives of Hercules Hesiod Pindar, Crates and Daphnatus, with a Parallel, Leonidas Aristomenes, Scipio Africanus Junior and Metellus Augustus Tiberius Claudius Nero Caligula Vitellius Epaminondas and the Elder Scipio with a Parallel Commentaries on Homer 4 Books, Commentaries on Hesiod 4 Books Empedocles on the Quintessence 5 Books, Essays 5 Books Tables 4 Books Rhetoric, 3 Books, Introduction of the Soul, 3 Books Extracts from the Philosophers 2 Books, Sense 3 Books, Great Actions of Cities, 3 Books, Politics, 2 Books, An Essay on Opportunity, to Theophrastus; Obsolete Parts of History, 4 Books, Proverbs, 2 Books, Topics of Aristotle, 8 Books, Justice, to Cyrsippus, 3 Books, An Essay on Poetry, A Dissertation on the Difference between the Pyrrhonians and the Academicians, A Treatise to prove that there was but one Academy of Plato

Aulus Gellius has taken a long story from Taurus about Plutarch's method of correcting a slave, in which there is nothing more than this that he punished him like a philosopher, and gave him his discipline without being out of temper

Plutarch had a nephew named Sextus, who bore a considerable reputation in the world of letters, and taught the Greek language and learning to Marcus Antoninus The character which that philosopher has given him, in his First Book of Reflections, may, with great propriety, be applied to his uncle "Sextus by his example, taught me mildness and humanity, to govern my house like a good father of a family, to fall into an easy and unaffected gravity of manners, to live agreeably to nature, to find out the art of discovering and preventing the wants of my friends, to connive at the noisy follies of the ignorant and impertinent, and to comply with the understandings and the humours of men"

One of the rewards of philosophy is long life and it is clear that Plutarch enjoyed this but of the time, or the circumstances of his death, we have no satisfactory account.

SCOPE OF WORK.

Athens—The illustrious city—peopled by Theseus,	..	circa	B C 1220
,, richest at home—most powerful abroad, under Pericles,		,,	420
,, her orators flatter the Roman—their city taken by Sylla,		,,	85
Sparta—Republic of founded by Lycurgus,		circa	B C 900
,, at Leuctra—lost the rule held for 500 years over Greece		,,	369
,, Sparta—Cleomenes lost all—his country—her glory departed,	.	,,	220

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

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AGIS, THE REFORMING KING OF SPARTA, 311-324.—Was sixth in descent from Agesilaus, just noticed, 313; distinguished for good-

ness of disposition and dignity of mind, 313; before he reached the age of 20, he declared war against pleasure, and constantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloak, 314; in his time there remained not 700 of the old Spartan families, of which, perhaps, 100 had estates in land—the rest, the rabble, had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, were watching for revolutions at home, 314; he thought it a noble undertaking to bring the citizens again to an equality, 314; the young men listened to him, but the old men were far gone in corruption, 314; brings his mother and grandmother, the richest ladies in Sparta, to support his views, 315; they give up their property, 316; Leonidas, the elder king, opposes him, 316; his *rhetra* or decree proposed to the senate, that debts be cancelled, and land divided in 4500 city and 15000 country lots, 316; the Ephori, the magistrates removed, 318; the *bonds* piled together in the market place and burned, 319; marches against Aratus, of the Achæan league, 319; gained great honour, 320; Leonidas brought back, 320; Agis takes sanctuary in Chalciæcus, 320; betrayed, imprisoned, strangled, 323.

ALCIBIADES, THE VERSATILE RULER OF ATHENS, 227-259.—Claimed to be a descendant of Ajax, 227; the affectionate attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame, 227; he had a lisping in his speech, which gave a persuasive turn to his discourse, 228; many attracted by the beauty of his person, but Socrates bore witness to his virtue and ingenuity, 229; the farming of the revenue, 230; made the campaign of Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent; and at Delium he was wounded, Socrates defending, and saving both him and his arms, 231; married Hipparete, who loved him, but left him because of his debauchery, how a divorce was evaded by him, 231; spent money lavishly to win popularity, 233; bred quails, as was the fashion, 233; famed for his breed of horses and number of chariots, 233; Euripides celebrates him for this, 233; was very young when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet soon showed himself superior to the other orators, 234; he could talk, and yet he was no speaker, 234; had rights of hospitality with the Lacedemonians, 235; but envies Nicias, his worthy rival, 236; heads the party of young Athens, their oath and ambition, 237; his attractions and virtues tarnished by his vices, 237; his heroic strength, his valour, his experience in war, 238; yet Greece could not bear another Alcibiades, 238; Timon, the misanthrope, seeing him applauded by the people, said, "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd," 238; his ambition and love of foreign conquest, 239; appointed colleague to Nicias in the Sicilian war, 239; accused of sacrilege at the instance of Androcles, 240; evades the charge—by lots cast—and sails for Sicily, 241; the Salaminian galley sent for him, 243; he returns in his own galley, 243; condemned, declares "I will make the Athenians find that I am alive," 243; impeached as a violator of the Elusinian mysteries, 243; Theno declared she was a "priestess for prayer, not for execration," 244; finds refuge in Sparta, 244; conforms to

the mode of life there, 244; is a very chameleon, 244; the same man still, 244; seduces Timæa, 245; aids the Spartans in their wars, 245; envied and in danger in Ionia, 245; claims the protection of Tissaphernes, 245; Athenians repent of their usage of him, 246; aids them with a squadron in the sea-fight at Abydos, 249; arrested at Sardis, 249; the victory at Cyzicum won by his aid, 250; captures Chalcedon, 251; narrow escape at Selybria, 251; recalled from banishment, 253; warm reception on his return to Athens, 254; tempted to assume absolute power, 256; his duplicity of character, 256; impeached by Thrasybulus, 256; quits the Athenian army and makes war on his own account, 256; his castle in Thrace —defends the Grecian frontier, 256; Athens subdued by Lysander, 257; Sparta seeks to have him despatched, 258; his dream, 259; surprised, defends himself (æt. 45), is shot down, 259.

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ARTAXERXES MEMNON, KING OF PERSIA, 259-280.—Had something gentle and moderate in his whole disposition, 260; Cyrus, his brother, governs Lydia, 260; Statira, his queen, 260; Cyrus in peril, saved by his mother, 261; Cyrus in revolt, 262; Clearchus sent from Sparta to aid him, 263; *Xenophon led these Greeks home*, 264; the brothers meet each other in combat, 265; Cyrus slain by a Carian, 266; punishment of a coward, 268; Mithridates, his boast and punishment, *the boat*, 269; Parysatis, the queen-mother, 271; death of Statira by poison, by whom, and how, 271; fate of the agents, 272; finds gold the efficient agent to control the Greeks, 274; sophisms of the queen-mother, and her own death, 274; conspiracy in his family, 275; death of his son, 278; had 360 wives, two of them his own daughters, 278; died æt. 94, reigned 62, and was a model despot, 280

CIMON, SON OF MILTIADES, ADMIRAL OF ATHENS, 129-146.—His lineage and connections, 131; when young was a fast liver, 132; his sister Elpinice, 132; his virtues, 133; in person was tall, majestic, with an abundance of hair which curled upon his shoulders, 133;

when the Medes were driven out of Greece he was elected admiral, 133; his success, 134; clears the Egean sea of the pirates, 135; finds the grave of Theseus and brings the remains to Athens. 136; games on this occasion, Sophocles' first appearance, 137; his house a common hall for the people—the first fruits of his lands were theirs, 137; favoured the nobles and admired the Spartans, 138; while all pillaged the public he kept his hands clean, 138; he made all the Athenians in turn to serve on board his ships, 138; fleet always afloat and soon ruled the sea, 139; humbled the pride of the Great King more than any other man, 139; widened the galleys and made a fighting platform on their decks, 139; drove the Persian fleet up the Eurymedon and took 200 galleys, 140; captured 80 Phenician galleys, 140; built the walls of Athens by sale of the spoils, 140; adorned Athens with noble places for exercise, 140; planted the *forum* with plane trees, 140; reduced the whole Chersonesus to the obedience of Athens, 140; impeached, defended by Pericles, and acquitted, 141; opposed the populace, 142; aids the Lacedæmonians, 143; banished, soon recalled, 144; advises a war with Persia, 144; his dream, 145; everything was great in the designs he formed, 145; his death, 145.

LYCURGUS, LAWGIVER AND FOUNDER OF THE SPARTAN REPUBLIC, 23-52.—Of him we have nothing to relate that is certain, 23; he lived not long after Homer, some say he knew him, 24; his lineage, 24; is called to the throne, but declines it, 25; travels in Crete, and learns much there, 26; induces Thales, the poet, to settle in Sparta, 26; passed into Asia, and in Ionia met with the poems of Homer, which he collected and transcribed, 27; he was the first who made them known in Greece—the Egyptians say that he visited them, 27; many embassies sent to entreat him to come home, as he had abilities to guide the measures of government, and powers of persuasion that drew the hearts of men to him, 27; went to Delphi, where the priestess calls him beloved of the gods, and Apollo promised that the constitution he should establish would be the most excellent in the world, 28; the first and most important of his institutions was that of the senate, which, sharing the government with the kings, highly contributed to the preservation of the state, 29; the Ephori were elected by the people out of their own body, they were five in number, annually chosen, and to give effect to anything the unanimous voice of the college was requisite, 30; they presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state, 30; found the city overcharged with indigent persons who had no land, and the wealth centred in the hands of a few—to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, so that all might be equal in their possessions, 31; he made 9000 lots for the territory of Sparta, and 30,000 for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia, 31; each lot was capable of producing 70 bushels of grain

for each man, and 12 for each woman, with wine and oil in proportion, 31; he attempted also to divide the moveables, but the people could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, 31; he stopped the currency of gold and silver, and made them use iron money only, 31; there was not to be found in Sparta either sophist or fortune-teller, keeper of infamous houses, or dealer in gold or silver trinkets, because there was no money, 32; he established the use of public tables, where all were to eat in common of the same meat, they were forbidden to eat at home upon expensive couches and tables, or to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, 32; any one that did not eat and drink at the common table, they reproached as effeminate and intemperate, 33; struck in the eye by Alcander at an assembly, the Spartans never carried staves to their assemblies afterwards, 33; there were 15 persons to a table, each brought monthly a bushel of meal, 8 gallons of wine, 5 lbs. of cheese, 2½ lbs. of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish, 34; the kings had double portions given them, 34; the Polemarchs commanded the army under the king, 34; the caddos, balloting, 34; the diet highest in esteem was the black broth, the old men ranged themselves on one side and eat it, leaving the meat to the young people, 34; after they had drunk moderately, they went home without lights, 34; forbade the Spartans to have written laws, 35; his ordinances he called Rhetræ, 35; the virgins exercised themselves in running, wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts, 36; if a man did not marry when he was of full age he was liable to a prosecution: such as had three children had great immunities, and those that had four were free from all taxes, 36; the marriage customs and ceremonies, 37; children considered not so much the property of their parents as of the state, 37; adultery unknown in Sparta, 38; weak infants were destroyed, 38; they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, was all they cared for, 39; arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences, theatrical diversions found no countenance, temperance and exercise made the physician unnecessary, their justice left no room for the practice of the lawyer, the trades that ministered to luxury were unknown, agriculture and mechanical labour were left to the slaves, 39; education and upbringing of the great, 39; the Iren and Milliren, 39; the fox gnawing into the bowels of the Spartan boy, 40; the boys taught to make sharp repartees, concise and pithy, 41; their short swords sneered at —"We can reach our enemies' hearts with them," 41; as to enclosing Sparta, "That city is well fortified, which has a wall of men instead of brick," 42; "He that knows how to speak, knows also when to speak," 42; the Athenians taunted the Spartans as having no learning, "True, for we are the only people in Greece that have learned no ill of you," 42; their number of men "Enough to keep bad men at a distance," 42; the king always offered sacrifice before a battle, 43; in all expeditions they were careful in performance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was over, the soldiers sung together hymns to the gods, 43; they slept all night in their armour, but out guards were not allowed their shields, 43; he provided for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games, 44; taught each

man to conclude that he was born not for himself, but for his country, 45; 40 years' service exacted before exemption could be claimed, 45; a little statue to the "god of laughter" decorated each hall of exercise, 45; the mother of Brasidas, her noble sentiments, 46; regulations as to burials, 47; no names allowed on tombs but that of those who fell in battle, 47; eleven days allowed for mourning, 47; the Helots; slaves wore dog-skin bonnets and sheep-skin dresses, and were forbidden to perform any act worthy of their masters; and once a day they received a certain number of stripes, 48; they made them drink till they were intoxicated, then led them into the public halls to show the youth what drunkenness was, ordered them to sing mean songs, and dance ridiculous dances, 48; he took an oath of the kings, senators, and all the citizens, that they would abide by his laws till he returned from Delphi, 49; he returned not, Lucian says he died æt 85, in Crete, where his body was burned and the ashes thrown into the sea, 49.

LYSANDER, ADMIRAL AND GENERAL OF SPARTA, 204-227.—Was bred up in poverty, but had a firm heart, 205; made admiral (B.C. 406), 205; improved the port of Ephesus, 206; in favour with Cyrus, who, at his request, added an obolus to the seamen's pay, giving them four in place of three oboli a day, 206; defeats the Athenian fleet in absence of Alcibiades, the admiral, "who never was beaten by sea or on land," 207; superseded, the Spartan law forbidding the same person to be admiral twice, 208; Callicratidas, his successor, proving unfortunate, he is made lieutenant, in truth, chief as before, 208; "Children," he said, "were to be cheated with cockalls, and men with oaths"—he who overreaches by a false oath, declares that he fears his enemy, but despises his god, 209; captures Lampsacus, 209; destroyed the Athenian fleet at Ægos-Potamos, 210; the omens, 211; execution of 3000 prisoners, 212; wherever he came he depressed democracy, 213; composed his oligarchies of the boldest and most factious, 213; Athens distressed by famine, surrenders at discretion, 213; hard terms imposed by the Ephori, 214; advised to raze the city, 214; *iron money* of Sparta, 215; the galley of gold and ivory, two cubits long, presented by Cyrus, 216; honours paid him, 216; his ambition is only a burden to the great, sets no bounds either to his favour or resentment, 217; Greece could not bear two Lysanders, 217; his power, cruelty, and savageness of manner are insupportable, 218; recalled home by the *scytale*, described, 218; obtains leave to visit Lybia, 219; Athens drives out the thirty tyrants he had placed there, 119; in all his operations he kept a strict eye upon the interests of Sparta, 219; the affection he felt for Agesilaus, 220; made chief of the staff of 30 in the army sent to Asia, 221; made to know his place, 222; attempts to corrupt the priestess of Delphi, 222; Silenus, the pseudo son of Apollo, 223; leads an army against Thebes, 223; falls at the battle of Halliartes (B.C. 393), 225; recovery of his body. 225; his poverty added lustre to his virtue, 226.

NICIAS, ATHENIAN GENERAL IN THE SICILIAN WAR, 177-204.—His life, written by Thucydides, is inimitable, 177; in war was often the colleague of Pericles, and when he flattered the people he opposed him, 178; was rich, and spent his money generously, 179; Theoria of Delos, 180; when archon, he was first in the court, and last to leave it, when at home difficult of access, 181; when the bodies of two of his men were missing he sent a herald to ask for them, choosing rather to loose his laurels than to leave two of his countrymen unburied, 182; there was a law by which those who desire a treaty for carrying off the dead, give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy, 182; Cleon was his mortal enemy, 183; Cleon banished decorum from the assembly, in his speeches he it was who first broke out into violent exclamations, threw back his robes, smote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the rostrum to the other, 184; Nicias sought to deliver Greece from the extremities of war—the peace he made for 50 years, known by his name, did not last long, 185; is duped by Alcibiades, 186; escapes the ostracism, 188; opposes the Sicilian expedition—is over-ruled and appointed commander, 189; adverse omens, 189; before Syracuse, 190; Alcibiades, his colleague, recalled, 190; Sophocles, the poet, at the council of war, 191; defeats the Syracusans, 192; was timid in forming a resolution, but bold in its execution, 192; Syracuse invested, 193; suffers from a violent distemper which confines him to his bed, in the camp, 193; his camp fired by the enemy, and his escape is marvellous, 193; Gylippus arrives from Sparta to aid the Sicilians, 193; Nicias solicits succours from Athens, 195; attacked by sea and land, but repulsed both, 195; relief reaches him, 196; repulsed at Epipolæ, 197; advised to return home, 198; declares he would rather die by the hands of the enemy than by those of his fellow-citizens, 198; eclipse of the moon, causes a panic in his army, 198; quits every other care, but sat still observing his sacrifices till the enemy is upon him, 199; beaten, he abandons his camp, 199; the fight at sea, 200; the dead left unburied, the sick and wounded deserted, his colleague a prisoner, 201; seeks to treat, but in vain, 201; falls into the hands of Gylippus, 202; his cruel death, 204.

PERICLES, ORATOR, RULER, ADORNER OF ATHENS, 146-177.—Description of works of virtue inspires with emulation—the beauty of goodness has an attractive form, 147; his family was one of the most considerable in Athens, 147; his person was well turned, but his head was disproportionately large, 148; from Anaxagoras he acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of style, but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress which no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder, 149; he was proud and supercilious in conversation, 149; from Anaxagoras he learned to overcome those terrors which the phenomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, 150; he dreaded the ban of ostracism, intermeddled

not with state affairs, but behaved with courage in the field, 150; when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon employed at a distance, he then engaged in the administration, 150; his natural disposition was far from inclining him to court popularity, 151; he took care not to make himself cheap among the people, 151; he flattered them by lessening the privileges of the court of Areopagus, which was the chief support of the nobility, and, indeed, of the whole estate, 151; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy, he far excelled all other orators, 152; he wrote down his orations before he pronounced them in public, was the first who did so, prayed to the gods that not a word might escape him disagreeable to the people, 152; constitution of the Areopagus, 152; by supplying the people with money from the public funds for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of justice, and by other pensions and gratifications, he gained favour with them, 153; to employ the Athenians, he sent out 60 galleys each year, manned for eight months, the citizens aboard being paid for their services, and improved as mariners, 155; he also sent out numerous colonies, 155; what most showed the power and opulence of ancient Greece was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices, 155; his enemies affirmed that he had brought the public treasures of Greece from Delos and squandered them upon Athens, 155; the Parthenon cost 1000 talents, 156; his reply, 156; Phidias appointed by him superintendent of all public edifices, 157; the Odeum described, 157; called to account by the people for his expenditure, 158; offered to pay all if his name were inscribed on the edifices in place of that of the people of Athens, 158; decreed he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasures, 158; the public stock was then estimated at £1,875,950, 158; he became sole master of Athens and its dependencies, 159; he kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour, 159; he added not one drachma to his paternal estate, 159; his chief merit in war was the safety of his measures, 161; in the account rendered he put down 10 talents laid out for necessary use, and the people allowed it, 165; sailed to Pontus, and made the power of Athens felt there, 163; Aspasia, the influence of, 164; declines all presents, 165; the Samian campaign, 166; the white bean, 167; his pique against Megara, 169; he was the cause of the Peloponnesian war, 170; Phidias accused, 170; Aspasia persecuted, 171; 1500 the full assembly of the people, 171; the eclipse, 173; deprived of his command, 174; his son, 174; who were the citizens of Athens, 5000 sold for slaves, 14,000 citizens, in all, 175; seized with the plague, 175; dies, B.C. 428, 176; declared "that no Athenian through his means ever put on mourning," 176.

SOLON, LAWGIVER, SAGE, AND RULER OF ATHENS, 52-78.—His lineage, 52; was never rich because he was always honest, 52; addicted to poetry—of a pleasant and agreeable temper—his institutions are remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as were those of Lycurgus for their harshness, 53; when far advanced in years, he said, "I grow old in the pursuit of learning,"

53; in his younger years he applied himself to merchandise, 53; Plato provides travelling expenses in Egypt by trading in oil, 54; his friend Anacharsis the Scythian, 54; so framed his laws that it was more for the interest of the Athenians to observe them than to transgress them, 55; in the Athenian assemblies Anacharsis declared that their wise men plead causes and fools determined them, 56; none wore caps but the sick, 57; the execrable proceedings of Gylon, 57; the poor engaged their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment—parents sold their children, 61; is chosen archon, the rich accepting him as one of them, the poor as a worthy and good man, 62; asked "Whether he had provided the best of laws for Athens," replied, "The best they were capable of receiving," 63; the first of his public acts was that debts should be forgiven, and no man should take the body of his debtor for security, 63; is constituted lawgiver and superintendent of the commonwealth—his power is absolute, 64; the laws of Draco (B.C. 623) were written not with ink but with blood—he declaring that small offences deserved death, and no greater punishment could be found for the most heinous, 65; the classes of the people in Athens, 65; the cruelty of the Areopagus, 66; decreed the man infamous that stands neuter in the times of sedition, 67; the bride to bring only three suits of clothes with her, 68; forbade men to speak ill of the dead, 68; gave every man the free and full disposal of his own, 68; women may not go out of town with more than three habits, their basket not to be above a cubit high, and in the night they were not to travel but in a carriage with a torch before them, 69; no man obliged to maintain his father who had not taught him a trade, 69; he that was thrice convicted of idleness was infamous, 69; bastards excused from relieving their fathers, 70; no adulteress to assist at the public sacrifices, 70; of all the products of the earth none be sold to strangers but oil, 71; sycophants and parasites, who they were, 71; his arms were written upon wooden tables, 72; he regulated the calendar, 72; *an archon taken in liquor is to be killed*, 72; his visit to Crœsus and its lesson, 74; no citizen in his time died of want, or begged in the streets, 76; persons maimed in the wars to be maintained at the public charge, 77; his death, 78.

THEMISTOCLES, ADMIRAL OF GREECE AND RULER OF ATHENS, 103-129.—Was the son of an inferior citizen of Athens, 103; when a boy full of spirit and fire, quick, inclined to bold attempts, and likely to prove a great statesman, 104; "you will be either a blessing or a curse to the community," and the master of the boy, 104; "the wildest colts make the best horses when well broke and managed" was an axiom of his, 105; enmity early arose between him and Aristides *the Just*, so different were they in temperament, aims, and objects, 105; the trophies won by Miltiades at Marathon disturbed his sleep, 106; moves that the silver won from the mines of Laurium be applied to the building of a fleet, from good soldiers he made them excellent sailors, 106; in ambition he had no equal, 107; put an end to the Grecian wars, reconciled the states to each

other, and formed a league against the Persians, 108; strength of the confederate fleet, 109; the sacred galley, 109; taught his men to come to close quarters with their foe, 110; the wall of Corinth, *the wooden walls* of Athens, 111; varied acts of the sea-fight of Salamis—the Trafalgar of antiquity—ruin of the fleet of Xerxes, 112-114; seen by him from the golden throne he had seated himself on upon the shore, 116; the blot on the victory was the human sacrifice to Bacchus Omestes of three noble captives, 116; the beaks (prows) of the Athenian galleys were of brass, 116; when they came to the Isthmus every officer took a billet on which to inscribe the names of those who had done the best services—*every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second*, 117; the Spartans honour him with a crown of olive, the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered 300 youths to attend him to their borders, 117; at the Olympic games he was the observed of all observers, 118; his sayings, good, 118; his foul scheme to burn the confederate fleet referred to Aristides, and, not approved by him, is not allowed by the citizens, 119; envied by the people, he asks, "Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hands?" 121; banished by the ostracism, 121; in exile and in danger, 121; narrowly escapes capture at Naxos, 123; price of 300 talents placed on his head by Persia, 123; (462 B.C.) throws himself on the mercy of Artaxerxes, 124; the prayer of the Persian prince; magnanimity of his reception of the Athenian exile, 126; three cities bestowed on him, 126; his dream, narrow escape from assassination, 127; pressed by the Persian to aid him in his schemes against Greece; he prefers to drain a bowl of poison, and, by his own hand dies, 128.

THESEUS THE ARGONAUT, FOUNDER OF ATHENS, 1-23.—He peopled the beautiful and famed city of Athens, 1; like Romulus, founder of Rome, he claimed to have sprung from the gods, 1; his lineage and parentage, 3; the virtues of Hercules were his dream by night, by day he emulated his deeds, 4; his club, Perigune, her father, 5; Sciron—the bed of Procrustes, 6; the labyrinth at Crete, 8; the tribute of virgins, 8; Minos, Rhadamanthus, 9; the Minotaur, Ariadne, 10; the Delian dance, 12; settled the inhabitants of Attica in Athens, 13; to the rich and great he represented the advantage of a government without a king, where the chief power should be in the people, 14; to enlarge the city he offered equal privileges to strangers, 14; to the nobles he gave the care of religion, the magistracy, and the laws, 15; husbandmen formed the second, and artificers the third class, 15; instituted the Isthmian games—story of the Amazon, 17; the rape of Helen and siege of Troy, 19; Menestheus, the first demagogue heard of in his time, 20; his death—said to be by fall from a cliff, 23.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

THESEUS.

As geographers thrust into the extremities of their maps those countries that are unknown to them, remarking at the same time, that all beyond is hills of sand and haunts of wild beasts, frozen seas, marshes, and mountains that are inaccessible to human courage or industry; so, in comparing the lives of illustrious men, when I have passed through those periods of time which may be described with probability, and where history may find firm footing in facts, I may say, my Senecio,[1] of the remoter ages, that all beyond is full of prodigy and fiction, the regions of poets and fabulists, wrapped in clouds, and unworthy of belief.[2] Yet since I had given an account of Lycurgus and Numa, I thought I might without impropriety ascend to Romulus, as I had approached his times. But considering

Who, for the palm, in contest high shall join? Or who in equal ranks shall stand?

(as Æschylus expresses it) it appeared to me, that he who peopled the beautiful and famed city of Athens, might be best contrasted and compared with the father of the magnificent and invincible Rome. Permit us then to take from Fable her extravagance, and make her yield to, and accept the form of, History: but where she obstinately despises probability, and refuses to mix with what is credible, we must implore the candour of our readers, and their kind allowance for the tales of Antiquity.

THESEUS, then, appeared to answer to Romulus in many particulars. Both were of uncertain parentage, born out of wedlock; and both had the repute of being sprung from the gods. Both stood in the first rank of warriors; for both had great powers of mind, with great strength of body. One was the founder of Rome, and one peopled Athens, the most illustrious cities in the world. Both carried off women by violence. Both were involved in domestic miseries, and exposed to family resentment: and both, towards the end of their lives, are said to have offended their respective citizens, if we may believe what seems to be delivered with the least mixture of poetical fiction.

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1 Sosius Senecio, a man of consular dignity, who flourished under Nerva and Trajan, and to whom Pliny addressed some of his Epistles; not the Senecio put to death by Domitian.

2 The wild fictions of the fabulous ages may partly be accounted for from the genius of the writers, who (as Plutarch observes) were chiefly poets: and partly from an affectation of something extraordinary or preternatural in antiquity, which has generally prevailed, both in nations and families.

The lineage of Theseus, by his father's side, stretches to Erectheus and the first inhabitants of his country;[1] by his mother's side to Pelops,[2] who was the most powerful of all the Peloponnesian kings, not only on account of his great opulence, but the number of his children: for he married his daughters to persons of the first dignity, and found means to place his sons at the head of the chief states. One of them named Pittheus, grandfather to Theseus, founded the small city of Trœzene, and was esteemed the most learned and the wisest man of his age. The essence of the wisdom of those days consisted in such moral sentences as Hesiod[3] is celebrated for in his Book of Works. One of these is ascribed to Pittheus:

Blast not the hope which friendship has conceived, But fill its measure high.

This is confirmed by Aristotle: and Euripides, in saying that Hippolytus was taught by "the sage and venerable Pittheus," gives him a very honourable testimony.

Ægeus wanting to have children, is said to have received, from the Oracle at Delphi, that celebrated answer, which commanded him not to approach any woman before he returned to Athens. But as the Oracle seemed not to give him clear instruction, he came to Trœzene, and communicated it to Pittheus in the following terms:—

The myrtle vessel shall untouch'd remain, Till in thy native realm—

It is uncertain what Pittheus saw in this Oracle. However, either by persuasion or deceit, he drew Ægeus into conversation with his daughter Æthra. Ægeus afterwards coming to know that she whom he had lain with was Pittheus's daughter, and suspecting her to be with child, hid a sword and a pair of sandals under a large stone, which had a cavity for the purpose. Before his departure, he told the secret to the princess only, and left orders, that if she brought forth a son, who, when he came to a man's estate, should be able to remove the stone, and take away the things left under it, she should send him with these tokens to him, with all imaginable privacy; for he was very much afraid that some plot would be formed against him by the Pallantidæ, who

[1] Theseus was the sixth in descent from Erectheus, said to be the son of Vulcan and Minerva, or Cranaus, grand-daughter of Cranaus the second king of Athens; so that Plutarch very justly says, that Theseus was descended from the Autochthones, or first inhabitants of Attica, who were so called because they pretended to be born in that very country. It is generally allowed, however, that this kingdom was founded by Cecrops, an Egyptian, who brought hither a colony of Saïtes, about the year of the world 2448, B.C. 1556. The inhabitants of Attica were indeed a more ancient people than those of many other districts of Greece, which being of a more fertile soil, often changed their masters, while few were ambitious of settling in a barren country.

[2] Pelops was the son of Tantalus, and of Phrygian extraction. He carried with him immense riches into Peloponnesus, which he had dug out of the mines of Mount Sypilus. By means of this wealth he got the government of the most considerable towns for his sons, and married his daughters to princes.

[3] Hesiod flourished about 500 years after Pittheus. Solomon wrote his Moral Sentences 200 or 300 years after Pittheus.

despised him for his want of children. These were fifty brothers, the sons of Pallas.[1]

Æthra was delivered of a son; and some say he was immediately named Theseus,* because of the laying up of the tokens; others, that he received his name afterwards at Athens, when Ægeus acknowledged him for his son. He was brought up by Pittheus, and had a tutor named Connidas, to whom the Athenians, even in our times, sacrifice a ram, on the day preceding the Thesean Feasts, giving this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than that which they pay to Silanion and Parrhasius, who only made statues and pictures of Theseus.

As it was then the custom for such as had arrived at man's estate, to go to Delphi to offer the first-fruits of their heir to Apollo, Theseus went thither, and the place where this ceremony is performed, from him, is said to be yet called Theséa. He shaved, however, only the fore part of his head, as Homer tells us the Abantes did;[2] and this kind of tonsure, on his account, was called Theseis. The Abantes first cut their hair in this manner, not in imitation of the Arabians, as some imagine, nor yet of the Mysians, but because they were a warlike people, who loved close fighting, and were more expert in it than any other nation. Thus Archilocus[4]—

> These twang not bows, nor sling the hissing stone,
> When Mars exults, and fields with armies groan:
> For nobler skill Eubœa's sons display,
> And with the thundering sword decide the fray.

That they might not, therefore, give advantage to their enemies by their hair, they took care to cut it off. And we are informed that Alexander of Macedon, having made the same observation, ordered his Macedonian troops to cut off their beards, these being a ready handle in battle.

For some time Æthra declared not the real father of Theseus; but the report propagated by Pittheus was, that he was the son of Neptune: for the Trœzenians principally worship that God; he is the patron of their city; to him they offer their first fruits; and their money bears the impression of a trident. Theseus, in his youth, discovering not only great strength of body, but firmness and solidity of mind, together with a large share of understanding

[1] Pallas was brother to Ægeus; and as Ægeus was supposed to have no children, the Pallantidæ considered the kingdom of Athens as their undoubted inheritance. It was natural, therefore, for Ægeus to conclude, that, if they came to know he had a son, they would attempt to assassinate either him or his son.

[2] The Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, gave names both to persons and things from some event or circumstance attending that which they were to name. The Greek word "Thesis" signifies "laying up," and "thesthai ulon, to acknowledge," or rather "to adopt a son." Ægeus did both; the ceremony of adoption being necessary to enable Theseus, who was not a legitimate son, to inherit the crown.

[3] The Abantes were the inhabitants of Eubœa, but originally of Abæ, a town in Thrace.

[4] Archilochus was a Greek poet, who lived about the time of Romulus. Homer had given the same account of the Abantes above 300 years before. For, in the second book of the Iliad, he tells us, the Abantes pierced the breastplates of their enemies with extended spears or pikes; that is to say, they fought hand to hand.

and prudence, Æthra led him to the stone, and having told him the truth concerning his origin, ordered him to take up his father's tokens, and sail to Athens. He easily removed the stone, but refused to go by sea, though he might have done it with great safety, and though he was pressed to it by the entreaties of his grandfather and his mother; while it was hazardous, at that time, to go by land to Athens, because no part was free from the danger of ruffians and robbers. Those times, indeed, produced men of strong and indefatigable powers of body, of extraordinary swiftness and agility; but they applied those powers to nothing just or useful. On the contrary, their genius, their disposition, their pleasures, tended only to insolence, to violence, and to rapine. As for modesty, justice, equity, and humanity, they looked upon them as qualities in which those who had it in their power to add to their possessions, had no manner of concern; virtues praised only by such as were afraid of being injured, and who abstained from injuring others out of the same principle of fear. Some of these ruffians were cut off by Hercules in his peregrinations, while others escaped to their lurking holes, and were spared by the hero in contempt of their cowardise. But when Hercules had unfortunately killed Iphitus, he retired to Lydia, where, for a long time, he was a slave to Omphale,[1] a punishment which he imposed upon himself for the murder. The Lydians then enjoyed great quiet and security; but in Greece the same kind of enormities broke out anew, there being no one to restrain or quell them. It was therefore extremely dangerous to travel by land from Peloponnesus to Athens; and Pittheus, acquainting Theseus with the number of these ruffians, and with their cruel treatment of strangers, advised him to go by sea. But he had long been secretly fired with the glory of Hercules, whom he held in the highest esteem, listening with great attention to such as related his achievements, particularly to those that had seen him, conversed with him, and had been witnesses to his prowess. He was affected in the same manner as Themistocles afterwards was, when he declared that the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. The virtues of Hercules were his dream by night, and by day emulation led him out and spurred him on to perform some exploits like his. Besides, they were nearly related, being born of cousin-germans; for Æthra was the daughter of Pittheus and Alcmena, of Lysidice, and Pittheus and Lysidice were brother and sister by Pelops and Hippodamia. He considered it, therefore, as an insupportable dishonour, that Hercules should traverse both sea and land to clear them of these villains, while he himself declined such adventures as occurred to him; disgracing his reputed father if he took his voyage, or rather flight, by sea; and carrying to his real father a pair of sandals, and a sword unstained with blood, instead of the ornament of great and good actions, to assert and add lustre to his noble birth. With

[1] Those guilty of murder became voluntary exiles, and imposed on themselves a certain penance, which they continued till they thought their crime expiated.

such thoughts and resolutions as these he set forward, determined to injure no one, but to take vengeance of such as should offer him any violence.

He was first attacked by Periphetes, in Epidauria, whose weapon was a club, and who, on that account, was called Corynetes, or the club-bearer. He engaged with him, and slew him. Delighted with the club, he took it for his weapon, and used it as Hercules did the lion's skin. The skin was a proof of the vast size of the wild beast which that hero had slain; and Theseus carried about with him this club, whose stroke he had been able to parry, but which, in his hand, was irresistible. In the Isthmus he slew Sinnis the Pine-bender,[1] in the same manner as he had destroyed many others: and this he did, not as having learned or practised the bending of those trees, but to show that natural strength is above all art. Sinnis had a daughter remarkable for her beauty and stature, named Perigune, who had concealed herself when her father was killed. Theseus made diligent search for her, and found at last that she had retired into a place overgrown with shrubs, and rushes, and wild asparagus. In her childish simplicity she addressed her prayers and vows to these plants and bushes, as if they could have a sense of her misfortune, promising, if they would save and hide her, that she would never burn or destroy them. But when Theseus pledged his honour for treating her politely, she came to him, and in due time brought him a son named Melanippus. Afterwards by Theseus' permission, she married Deioneus, the son of Eurytus the Œchalian. Melanippus had a son named Ioxus, who joined with Ornytus in planting a colony in Caria; whence the Ioxid[illegible], with whom it is an inviolable rule not to burn either rushes or wild asparagus, but to honour and worship them.

About this time Crommyon was infested by a wild sow named Phæa, a fierce and formidable creature. This savage he attacked and killed,[2] going out of his way to engage her, and thereby showing an act of voluntary valour, for he believed it equally became a brave man to stand upon his defence against abandoned ruffians, and to seek out and begin the combat with strong and savage animals. But some say that Phæa was an abandoned female robber, who dwelt in Crommyon, that she had the name of Sow from her life and manners; and was afterwards slain by Theseus.

On the borders of Megara he destroyed Sciron, a robber, by casting him headlong from a precipice, as the story generally goes: and it is added, that in wanton villainy, this Sciron used to make strangers wash his feet, and to take those opportunities to push them into the sea. But the writers of Megara in contradiction to this report, and, as Simonides expresses it, fighting with all

1 Sinnis was so called from his bending the heads of two pines and tying passengers between the opposite branches, which, by their sudden return, tore them to pieces.

2 In this instance our hero deviated from the principle he set out upon, which was never to be the aggressor in any engagement. The wild sow was certainly no less respectable an animal than the pine bender

antiquity, assert, that Sciron was neither a robber nor a ruffian, but on the contrary, a destroyer of robbers, and a man whose heart and house were ever open to the good and honest. For Æacus, say they, was looked upon as the justest man in Greece, Cychreus of Salamis had divine honours paid him at Athens, and the virtue of Peleus and Telemon too was universally known. Now Sciron was son-in-law to Cychreus, father-in-law to Æacus, and grandfather to Peleus and Telemon, who were both of them sons of Endeis, the daughter of Sciron and Chariclo: therefore it was not probable that the best of men should make such alliances with one of so vile a character, giving and receiving the greatest and dearest pledges. Besides, they tell us that Theseus did not slay Sciron in his first journey to Athens, but afterwards, when he took Eleusis from the Megarensians, having expelled Diocles, its chief magistrate, by a stratagem. In such contradictions are these things involved.

At Eleusis he engaged in wrestling with Cercyon the Arcadian, and killed him on the spot. Proceeding to Hermione,[1] he put a period to the cruelties of Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, making his body fit the size of his own beds, as he had served strangers. These things he did in imitation of Hercules, who always returned upon the aggressors the same sort of treatment which they intended for him; for that hero sacrificed Busiris, killed Antæus in wrestling, Cygnus in single combat, and broke the skull of Termerus; whence this is called the Termerian mischief; for Termerus, it seems, destroyed the passengers he met, by dashing his head against theirs. Thus Theseus pursued his travels to punish abandoned wretches, who suffered the same kind of death from him that they inflicted on others, and were requited with vengeance suitable to their crimes.

In his progress he came to Cephisus, where he was first saluted by some of the Phytalidæ.[2] Upon his desire to have the customary purifications, they gave him them in due form, and having offered propitiatory sacrifices, invited him to their houses. This was the first hospitable treatment he met with on the road. He is said to have arrived at Athens on the eighth day of the month Cronius, which now they call Hecatombœon (July). There he found the state full of troubles and distraction, and the family of Ægeus in great disorder: for Medea, who had fled from Corinth, promised by her art to enable Ægeus to have children, and was admitted to his bed. She first discovering Theseus, whom as yet Ægeus did not know, persuaded him, now in years, and full of jealousies and suspicions, on account of the faction that prevailed in the city, to prepare an entertainment for him as a stranger, and take him off

[1] This seems to be a mistake; for we know of no place called Harmione, or Hermione, between Eleusis and Athens. Pausanias calls it Erione; and the author of the Universal History, after Philochorus, call it Turmione.

[2] These were the descendants of Phytalus with whom Ceres entrusted the superintendence of the holy mysteries, in recompence for the hospitality with which she had been treated at his house. Theseus thought himself unfit to be admitted to those mysteries without expiation, because he had dipped his hands in blood, though it was only that of thieves and robbers.

by poison. Theseus, coming to the banquet, did not intend to declare himself at first, but, willing to give his father occasion to find him out, when the meat was served up, he drew his sword,[1] as if he designed to carve with it, and took care it should attract his notice. Ægeus quickly perceiving it, dashed down the cup of poison, and after some questions, embraced him as his son: then assembling the people, he acknowledged him also before them, who received him with great satisfaction on account of his valour. The cup is said to have fallen, and the poison to have been spilt, where the inclosure now is, in the place called Delphinium; for there it was that Ægeus dwelt; and the Mercury which stands on the east side of the temple is yet called the Mercury of Ægeus's gate.

The Pallantidæ, who hoped to recover the kingdom if Ægeus died childless, lost all patience when Theseus was declared his successor. Exasperated at the thought that Ægeus, who was not in the least allied to the Erecthidæ, but only adopted by Pandion,[2] should first gain the crown, and afterwards Theseus, who was an emigrant and a stranger, they prepared for war; and, dividing their forces, one party marched openly, with their father, from Sphettus to the city; and the other, concealing themselves in Gargettus, lay in ambush, with a design to attack the enemy from two several quarters. They had with them an herald named Leos, of the tribe of Agnus. This man carried to Theseus an account of all the designs of the Pallantidæ: and he immediately fell upon those that lay in ambush, and destroyed them. Pallas and his company being informed of this, thought fit to disperse. Hence it is said to be, that the tribe of Pallene never intermarry with the Agnusians, nor suffer any proclamation to begin with these words, *Akouete Leos* (Hear, O ye people!) for they hate the very name of Leos, on account of the treachery of that herald.

Theseus, desirous to keep himself in action, and at the same time courting the favour of the people, went against the Marathonian bull, which did no small mischief to the inhabitants of Tetrapeus. When he had taken him, he brought him alive in triumph through the city, and afterwards sacrificed him to the Delphinian Apollo. Hecale also, and the story of her receiving and entertaining Theseus, does not appear destitute of all foundation; for the people in that neighbourhood assemble to perform the Hecalesian rites to Jupiter Hecalus: they honour Hecale too, calling her by the diminutive, Hecalene, because when she entertained Theseus, while he was but a youth, she caressed him as persons in years use to do children, and called him by such tender diminutive names. She vowed, moreover, when he went to battle, to offer

1 Some needless learning has been adduced to shew that in the heroic times they carved with a cutlass or large knife, and not with a sword; and that consequently Plutarch here must certainly be mistaken; but as the same word now signifies either a cutlass or a sword, how do we know that it was a sword, and not a cutlass, which Ægeus hid under a stone.

2 It had not been actually reported, that Ægeus was not the son of Pandion, but of Scyrius.

sacrifices to Jupiter, if he returned safe; but as she died before the end of the expedition, Theseus performed those holy rites in testimony of the grateful sense he had of her hospitality. So Philochorus relates the story.[1]

Not long after, there came the third time, from Crete, the collectors of the tribute, exacted on the following occasion. Androgeus,[2] being treacherously slain in Attica, a very fatal war was carried on against that country by Minos, and divine vengeance laid it waste; for it was visited by famine and pestilence, and want of water increased their misery. The remedy that Apollo proposed was, that they should appease Minos, and be reconciled to him; whereupon the wrath of heaven would cease, and their calamities come to a period. In consequence of this they sent ambassadors with their submission; and, as most writers agree, engaged themselves by treaty, to send every ninth year a tribute of seven young men and as many virgins. When these were brought into Crete, the fabulous account informs us, that they were destroyed by the Minotaur[3] in the Labyrinth, or that, lost in its mazes, and unable to find the way out, they perished there. The Minotaur was, as Euripides tells us,

A mingled form, prodigious to behold, Half bull, half man!

But Philochorus says the Cretans deny this, and will not allow the labyrinth to have been any thing but a prison, which had no other inconvenience than this, that those who were confined there could not escape: And Minos having instituted games in honour of Androgeus, the prize for the victors was those youths, who had been kept till that time in the labyrinth. He that first won the prizes in those games, was a person of great authority in the court of Minos, and general of his armies, named Taurus, who, being unmerciful and savage in his nature, had treated the Athenian youths with great insolence and cruelty. And it is plain that Aristotle himself, in his account of the Botticæan Government, does not suppose that the young men were put to death by Minos, but that they lived, some of them to old age, in servile employments in Crete. He adds, that the Cretans, in persuance of an ancient vow, once sent a number of their first-born to Delphi, among whom were some of the descendants of these Athenian slaves, who, not being able to support themselves there, first passed from thence into Italy, where they settled about Japygia; and from thence they removed again into Thrace, and were called Botticæans. Wherefore the Botticæan virgins, in some solemnities of religion sing, "To Athens let us go." And, indeed, it seems dangerous to be at enmity

[1] Philochorus was an Athenian historian, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philopater, about 200 years B.C. He wrote many valuable pieces, of which nothing remains, but some fragments preserved by other writers.

[2] Some say Ægeus caused him to be murdered, because he was in the interest of the Pallantidæ; others, that he was killed by the Marathonian bull.

[3] Feigned by the poets to have been begot by a bull upon Pasiphae, Minos's queen, who was inspired, it seems, with this horrid passion by Neptune, in revenge for Minos's refusing him a beautiful bull which he expected as an offering.

with a city which is the seat of eloquence and learning: For Minos was always satirized on the Athenian stage; nor was his fame sufficiently rescued by Hesiod's calling him "Supreme of Kings," or Homer's saying that he "conversed with Jove;" for the writers of tragedy prevailing, represented him as a man of vicious character, violent, and implacable; yet, inconsistently enough, they say that Minos was a king and a lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was an upright judge, and guardian of the laws which Minos had made.

When the time of the third tribute came, and those parents who had sons not arrived at full maturity, were obliged to resign them to the lot, complaints against Ægeus sprung up again among the people, who expressed their grief and resentment, that he, who was the cause of all their misfortunes, bore no part of the punishment, and while he was adopting and raising to the succession, a stranger of spurious birth, took no thought for them who lost their legitimate children. Those things were matter of great concern to Theseus, who, to express his regard for justice, and take his share in the common fortune, voluntarily offered himself as one of the seven, without lot. The citizens were charmed with this proof of his magnanimity and public spirit; and Ægeus himself, when he saw that no entreaties or persuasions availed to turn him from it, gave out the lots for the rest of the young men. But Hellanicus says, that the youths and virgins which the city furnished were not chosen by lot, but that Minos came in person and selected them, and Theseus before the rest, upon these conditions: That the Athenians should furnish a vessel, and the young men embark and sail along with him, but carry no arms; and that if they could kill the Minotaur, there should be an end of the tribute. There appearing no hopes of safety for the youths in the two former tributes, they sent out a ship with a black sail, as carrying them to certain ruin. But when Theseus encouraged his father by his confidence of success against the Minotaur he gave another sail, a white one, to the pilot, ordering him, if he brought Theseus safe back, to hoist the white; but if not, to sail with the black one in token of his misfortune. Simonides, however, tells us, that it was not a white sail which Ægeus gave, but a scarlet one, dyed with the juice of the flower of a very flourish-holm oak,[1] and that this was to be the signal that all was well. He adds, that Phereclus, the son of Amarsyas, was pilot of the ship: but Philochorus says, that Theseus had a pilot sent him by Sciras, from Salamis, named Nausitheus, and one Phæax to be at the prow, because as yet the Athenians had not applied themselves to navigation;[2] and that Sciras did this, because one of the young men, named Menesthes, was his daughter's son. This is confirmed by the monuments of Nausitheus and Phæax, built by Theseus, at Phalerum,

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1 It is not the flower, but the fruit of the Ilex, full of little worms, which the Arabians call kermes, from which a scarlet dye is procured.

2 The Athenians, according to Herodot. sent 50 ships to Troy; but those were only transport ships. Thucydides assures us, that they did not begin to make any figure at sea till 10 or 12 years after the battle of Marathon, 700 years after the siege of Troy.

near the Temple of Sciron; and the feast called Cybernesia, or the Pilot's Feast, is said to be kept in honour of them.

When the lots were cast, Theseus taking with him, out of the Prytaneum, those upon whom they fell, went to the Delphinian temple and made an offering to Apollo for them. This offering was a branch of consecrated olive, bound about with white wool. Having paid his devotions he embarked on April 6, at which time they still send the virgins to Delphinium to propitiate the god. It is reported that the oracle at Delphi commanded him to take Venus for his guide, and entreat her to be his companion in the voyage; and whilst he sacrificed to her a she-goat on the sea shore, its sex was immediately changed: hence the goddess had the name of Epitagria.

When he arrived in Crete, according to most historians and poets, Ariadne, falling in love with him, gave him a clue of thread, and instructed him how to pass with it through the intricacies of the labyrinth. Thus assisted, he killed the Minotaur, and then set sail, carrying off Ariadne, together with the young men. Pherecydes says, that Theseus broke up the keels of the Cretan ships, to prevent their pursuit. But, as Demon has it, he killed Taurus, Minos's commander, who engaged him in the harbour, just as he was ready to sail out. Again, according to Philochorus, when Minos celebrated the games in honour of his son, it was believed that Taurus would bear away the prizes in them as formerly, and every one grudged him that honour: for his excessive power and haughty behaviour were intolerable; and besides, he was accused of too great a familiarity with Pasiphae: therefore, when Theseus desired the combat, Minos permitted it. In Crete it was the custom for the women as well as the men, to see the games; and Ariadne, being present, was struck with the person of Theseus, and with his superior vigour and address in the wrestling-ring. Minos too was greatly delighted, especially when he saw Taurus vanquished and disgraced; and this induced him to give up the young men to Theseus, and to remit the tribute. Clidemus beginning higher, gives a prolix account of these matters, according to his manner. There was, it seems, a decree throughout all Greece, that no vessel should sail with more than five hands, except the Argo, commanded by Jason, who was appointed to clear the sea of pirates. But when Dædalus escaped by sea to Athens, Minos pursuing him with his men of war, contrary to the decree, was driven by a storm to Sicily, and there ended his life. And when Deucalion his successor, pursuing his father's quarrels with the Athenians, demanded that they should deliver up Dædalus, and threatened, if they did not, to make away with the hostages that Minos had received, Theseus gave him a mild answer, alleging that Dædalus, was his relation, nearly allied in blood, being son to Merope, the daughter of Erectheus. But privately he prepared a fleet, part of it among the Thymœtadæ, at a distance from any public road, and part under the direction of Pittheus, at Troezene. When it was ready, he set sail, taking Dædalus, and the rest of the fugitives from Crete for his guide. The Cretans receiving no information of the matter, and, when they saw his fleet, taking them for friends, he

easily gained the harbour, and making a descent, proceeded immediately to Gnossus. There he engaged with Deucalion and his guards, before the gates of the labyrinth, and slew them. The government, by this means, falling to Ariadne, he entered into an agreement with her, by which he received the young captives, and made a perpetual league between the Athenians and the Cretans, both sides swearing to proceed to hostilities no more.

There are many other reports about these things, and as many concerning Ariadne, but none of any certainty. For some say, that being deserted by Theseus, she hanged herself; others, that she was carried by the mariners to Naxos, and there married Onarus the priest of Bacchus, Theseus having left her for another mistress.

For Ægle's charms had pierced the hero's heart.

Whereas the Megarensian tells us, that Pisistratus struck the line out of Hesiod; as on the contrary, to gratify the Athenians, he added this other to Homer's description of the state of the dead:

The godlike Theseus and the great Pirithous.

Some say Ariadne had two sons by Theseus, Œnopian and Staphylus. With these agrees Ion of Chios, who says of his native city, that it was built by Œnopion the son of Theseus.

But the most striking passages of the poets, relative to these things, are in everybody's mouth. Something more particular is delivered by Pæon the Amathusian. He relates, that Theseus, being driven by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child, and extremely discomposed with the agitation of the sea, he set her on shore, and left her alone, while he returned to take care of the ship; but by a violent wind was forced out again to sea; but the women of the country received Ariadne kindly, consoled her under her loss, and brought her feigned letters as from Theseus: that they attended and assisted her when she fell in labour: and, as she died in childbed, paid her the funeral honours: that Theseus, on his return, greatly afflicted at the news, left money with the inhabitants, ordering them to pay divine honours to Ariadne; and that he caused two little statues of her to be made, one of silver, and the other of brass: that they celebrate her festival on Sep. 2, when a young man lies down, and imitates the cries and gesture of a woman in travail; and that the Amathusians call the grove in which they show her tomb, the Grove of Venus Ariadne.

Some of the Naxian writers relate, that there were two Minos and two Ariadnes; one of whom was married to Bacchus in Naxos, and had a son named Staphylus; the other, of a later age, being carried off by Theseus, and afterwards deserted, came to Naxos, with her nurse Corcyne, whose tomb is still shown. That this Ariadne died there, and had different honours paid her from the former; for the feasts of one were celebrated with mirth and revels, while the sacrifices of the other were mixed with sorrow and mourning.[1]

[1] The Feasts of Ariadne, the wife of Bacchus, were celebrated with joy, to denote that she was become a divinity; those of the other Ariadne signify that she fell like a mere mortal.

Theseus, in his return from Crete, put in at Delos,[1] and having sacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated a statue of Venus, which he received from Ariadne, he joined with the young men in a dance, which the Delians are said to practise at this day. It consists in an imitation of the mazes and outlets of the labyrinth, and, with various involutions and evolutions, is performed in regular time. This kind of dances as Dicæarchus informs us, is called by the Delians the Crane.[2] He danced it round the altar Keraton, which was built entirely of the left-side horns of beasts. He is also said to have instituted games in Delos, where he began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.

When they drew near to Attica, both Theseus and the pilot were so transported with joy, that they forgot to hoist the sail which was to be the signal to Ægeus of their safety, who, therefore, in despair, threw himself from the rock and was dashed to pieces. Theseus disembarked, and performed those sacrifices to the gods, which he had vowed at Phalerum, when he set sail, and sent a herald to the city, with an account of his safe return. The messenger met with numbers lamenting the fate of the king, and others rejoicing, as it was natural to expect, at the return of Theseus, welcoming him with the greatest kindness, and ready to crown him with flowers for his good news. He received the chaplets, and twined them round his herald's staff. Returning to the sea-shore, and finding that Theseus had not yet finished his libations, he stopped without, not choosing to disturb the sacrifice. When the libations were over, he announced the death of Ægeus. Upon this, they hastened, with sorrow and tumultuous lamentations, to the city. Hence, they tell us, it is, that, in the Oschophoria, or Feast of Boughs, to this day the herald is not crowned, but his staff; and those that are present at the libations cry out, *Hieleu! Ioii, ioii.* The former is the exclamation of haste and triumph, and the latter of trouble and confusion. Theseus, having buried his father, paid his vows to Apollo on 7th Oct.; for on that day they arrived safe at Athens. The boiling of all sorts of pulse at that time is said to take its rise from their mixing the remains of their provisions, when they found themselves safe ashore, boiling them in one pot, and feasting upon them altogether. In that feast they also carry a branch bound about with wool, such as they then made use of in their supplications, which they call Eiresione, laden with all sorts of fruits; and to signify the ceasing of scarcity at that time, they sing this strain:

The golden ear, th' ambrosial hive,	In fair Eiresione thrive.
See the juicy figs appear!	Olives crown the wealthy year!
See the clustre-bending vine!	See, and drink, and drop supine!

Some pretend that this ceremony is retained in memory of the Heraclidæ,[3] who were entertained in that manner by the Athenians; but the greater part relate it as above delivered.

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[1] Hence came the custom of sending annually a deputation from Athens to Delos, to sacrifice to Apollo.

[2] Thisdance, Callimachus tells us, was a particular one; and probably it was called the Crane, because cranes commonly fly in the figure of a circle.

[3] The descendants of Hercules, being driven out of Peloponnesus and all Greece, applied to the Athenians for their protection, which was granted; and as they went as supplicants, they went with branches in their hands. This subject is treated by Euripides in his Heraclidæ.

The vessel in which Theseus sailed, and returned safe, with those young men, went with 30 oars. It was preserved by the Athenians to the time of Demetrius Phalereus,[1] being so pieced and new framed with strong planks, that it affords an example to the philosophers, in their disputations concerning the identity of things that are changed by growth; some contending that it was the same, and others that it was not.

The feast called Oschophoria,[2] which the Athenians still celebrate, was then first instituted by Theseus. For he did not take with him all the virgins upon whom the lot had fallen, but selected two young men of his acquaintance who had feminine and florid aspects, but were not wanting in spirit and presence of mind. These by warm bathing, and keeping them out of the sun, by providing unguents for their hair and complexions, and everything necessary for their dress, by forming their voice, their manner, and their step, he so effectually altered, that they passed among the virgins designed for Crete, and no one could discern the difference.

At his return, he walked in procession with the same young men, dressed in the manner of those who now carry the branches. These are carried in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, on account of the story before related; or rather because they returned at the time of gathering ripe fruit. The Deipnophoræ, women who carry the provisions, bear a part in the solemnity, and have a share in the sacrifice, to represent the mothers of those upon whom the lots fell, who brought their children provisions for the voyage. Fables and tales are the chief discourse, because the women then told their children stories to comfort them and keep up their spirits. These particulars are taken from the History of Demon. There was a place consecrated, and a temple erected to Theseus: and those families which would have been liable to the tribute, in case it had continued, were obliged to pay a tax to the temple for sacrifices. These were committed to the care of the Phytalidæ. Theseus doing them that honour in recompense of their hospitality.

After the death of Ægeus, he undertook and effected a prodigious work. *He settled all the inhabitants of Attica in Athens*, and made them one people in one city, who before were scattered up and down, and could with difficulty be assembled on any pressing occasion for the public good. Nay, often such differences had happened between them, as ended in bloodshed. The method he

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[1] That is, near 1000 years. For Theseus returned from Crete about the year B.C. 1235, and Callimachus, who was contemporary with Demetrius, and who tells us the Athenians continued to send this ship to Delos in his time, flourished about B.C. 289.

[2] This ceremony was performed in the following manner: They made choice of a certain number of youths of the most noble families in each tribe, whose fathers and mothers both were living. They bore vine-branches in their hands, with grapes upon them, and ran from the temple of Bacchus to that of Minerva Sciradia, which was near the Phalerian gate. He that arrived there first drank off a cup of wine, mingled with honey, cheese, meal, and oil. They were followed by a chorus conducted by two young men, dressed in woman's apparel, the chorus singing a song in praise of those young men. Certain women, with baskets on their heads, attended them, and were chosen for that office from among the most wealthy of the citizens. The whole procession was headed by a herald, bearing a staff encircled with boughs.

took was to apply to them, in particular by their tribes and families. Private persons and the poor easily listened to his summons. *To the rich and great he represented the advantage of a government without a king, where the chief power should be in the people,* while he himself only desired to command in war, and to be the guardian of the laws; in all the rest, every one would be upon an equal footing. Part of them hearkened to his persuasions; and others fearing his power, which was already very great, as well as his enterprising spirit, chose rather to be persuaded, than to be forced to submit. Dissolving, therefore, the corporations, the councils, and courts in each particular town, he built one common Prytaneum and court-hall, where it stands to this day. The citadel, with its dependencies, and the city, or the old and new town, *he united under the common name of Athens,* and instituted the Panathenæa as a common sacrifice.[1] He appointed also the Metœcia, or Feast of Migration,[2] and fixed it to July 16, and so it still continues. Giving up the kingly power, as he had promised, he settled the commonwealth under the auspices of the gods; for he consulted the Oracle at Delphi concerning his new government, and received this answer:

> From Royal stems, thy honour, Theseus, springs,
> By Jove, beloved, the sire, supreme of kings.
> See rising towns, see wide-extended states,
> On thee dependent, ask their future fates!
> Hence, hence with fear! Thy favour'd bark shall ride
> Safe o'er the surges of the foamy tide.[3]

With this agrees the Sibyl's prophecy, which, we are told, she delivered long after, concerning Athens:

> The bladder may be dipp'd, but never drown'd.

Desiring yet farther to enlarge the city, he invited all strangers to equal privileges in it: and the words still in use, "Come hither, all ye people," are said to be the beginning of a proclamation, which Theseus ordered to be made when he composed the commonwealth, as it were, of all nations. Yet he left it not in the confusion and disorder likely to ensue from the confluence and strange mixture of people; but distinguished them into noblemen, husbandmen, and mechanics. The nobility were to have the care of religion, to

[1] The Athenæa were celebrated before, in honour of the goddess Minerva; but as that was a feast peculiar to the city of Athens, Theseus enlarged it, and made it common to all the inhabitants of Attica; and therefore it was called Panathenæa. There were the great and the less Panathenæa. The less were kept annually, and the greater every fifth year. In the latter they carried in procession the mysterious *πεπλον* or veil of Minerva, on which were embroidered the victory of the gods over the giants, and the most remarkable achievements of their heroes.

[2] In memory of their quitting the boroughs, and uniting in one city. On this occasion, he likewise instituted, or at least restored, the "famous Isthmian games," in honour of Neptune. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers; and as a farther encouragement for them to come and settle in Athens, he gave them the privileges of natives.

[3] In the original it is, "Safe, like a bladder, &c." When Sylla had taken Athens, and exercised all manner of cruelties there, some Athenians went to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, whether the last hour of their city was come? and the priestess according to Pausanias, made answer, "That which belongs to the bladder now has an end;" plainly referring to the old prophecy here delivered.

supply the city with magistrates, to explain the laws, and to interpret whatever related to the worship of the gods. As to the rest, he balanced the citizens against each other as nearly as possible; the nobles excelling in dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the artificers in number. It appears from Aristotle, that Theseus *was the first who inclined to a democracy, and gave up the regal power;* and Homer also seems to bear witness to the same in his catalogue of ships, where he gives the name of People to the Athenians only. To his money he gave the impression of an ox, either on account of the Marathonian bull, or because of Minos's general Taurus, or because he would encourage the citizens in agriculture. Hence came the expression of a thing being worth 10 or 100 oxen. Having also made a secure acquisition of the country about Megara to the territory of Athens, he set up the famed pillar in the Isthmus,[1] and inscribed two verses to distinguish the boundaries. That on the east side ran thus:

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia.

and that on the west, was

This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.

He likewise instituted games in imitation of Hercules, being ambitious, that as the Greeks, in pursuance of that hero's appointment, celebrated the Olympic games in honour of Jupiter, so they should celebrate the Isthmian in honour of Neptune: for the rights performed there before, in memory of Melicertes, were observed in the night, and had more the air of mysteries, than of a public spectacle and assembly. But some say the Isthmian games were dedicated to Sciron, Theseus inclining to expiate his untimely fate, by reason of their being so nearly related; for Sciron was the son of Canethus and Henioche, the daughter of Pittheus. Others will have it, that Sinnis was their son, and that to him, and not to Sciron, the games were dedicated. He made an agreement too with the Corinthians, that they should give the place of honour to Athenians who came to the Isthmian games, as far as the ground could be covered with the sail of the public ship that brought them, when stretched to its full extent. This particular we learn from Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus.

Philochorus and some others relate, that he sailed in company with Hercules, into the Euxine sea, to carry on war with the Amazons,[2] and that he received Antiope[3] as the reward of his valour: but the greater number, among whom are Pherecydes, Hellanicus,

[1] This pillar was erected by the common consent of the Ionians and Peloponnesians, to put an end to the disputes about their boundaries; and it continued to the reign of Codrus, during which it was demolished by the Heraclidæ, who had made themselves masters of the territory of Megara, which thereby passed from the Ionians to the Dorians. *Strabo*, lib ix

[2] Nothing can be more fabulous than the whole history of the Amazons: Strabo observes, that the most credible of Alexander's historians have not so much as mentioned them, and indeed, if they were a Scythian nation, how came they all to have Greek names?

[3] Justin says, Hercules gave Hippolyte Theseus, and kept Antiope for himself.

and Herodorus, tell us, that Theseus made that voyage, with his own fleet only, some time after Hercules, and took that Amazon captive, which is indeed the more probable account; for we do not read that any other of his fellow warriors made any Amazon prisoner. But Bion says, he took and carried her off by stratagem. The Amazons, being naturally lovers of men, were so far from avoiding Theseus, when he touched upon their coasts, that they sent him presents. Theseus invited Antiope, who brought them into his ship, and as soon as she was aboard, set sail. But the account of one Menecrates, who published a history of Nice in Bithynia, is, that Theseus, having Antiope aboard his vessel, remained in those parts some time; and that he was attended in that expedition by three young men of Athens, who were brothers, Euneus, Thoas, and Soloon. The last of these, unknown to the rest fell in love with Antiope, and communicated his passion to one of his companions, who applied to Antiope about the affair. She firmly rejected his pretensions, but treated him with civility, and prudently concealed the matter from Theseus. But Soloon, in despair, leaped into a river and drowned himself. Theseus, then sensible of the cause, and the young man's passion, lamented his fate, and, in his sorrow, recollected an oracle which he had formerly received at Delphi. The priestess had ordered, that when, in some foreign country, he should labour under the greatest affliction, he should build a city there, and leave some of his followers to govern it. Hence he called the city which he built Pythopolis, after the Pythian god, and the neighbouring river Soloon, in honour of the young man. He left the two surviving brothers to govern it, and give it laws; and along with them Hermus, who was of one of the best families in Athens. From him the inhabitants of Pythopolis call a certain place in their city Hermes's House (*Hermoù oikia*), and by misplacing an accent, transfer the honour from the hero to the god Mercury.

Hence the war with the Amazons took its rise. And it appears to have been no slight womanish enterprise; for they could not have encamped in the town, or joined battle on the ground about the Pnyx[1] and the Museum,[2] or fallen in so intrepid a manner upon the city of Athens, unless they had first reduced the country about it. It is difficult, indeed, to believe (though Hellanicus has related it) that they crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus upon the ice; but that they encamped almost in the heart of the city is confirmed by the names of places, and by the tombs of those that fell.

There was a long pause and delay before either army would begin the attack. At last Theseus, by the direction of some oracle, offered a sacrifice to Fear,[3] and after that immediately engaged.

[1] The Pnyx was a place (near the citadel) where the people of Athens used to assemble, and where the orators spoke to them about public affairs.

[2] The museum was upon a little hill over against the citadel, and probably so called from a temple of the muses there.

[3] The heathens considered not only the passions, but even distempers, storms, and tempests, as divinities, and worshipped them, that they might do them no harm.

The battle was fought in the month Boedromion (Sept.), the day on which the Athenians still celebrated the feast called Boödromia. Clidemus, who is willing to be very particular, writes, that the left wing of the Amazons moved towards what is now called the Amazonium; and that the right extended as far as the Pnyx, near Chrysa: that the Athenians first engaged with the left wing of the Amazons, falling upon them from the Museum; and that the tombs of those that fell in the battle are in the street which leads to the gate called Piraica, which is by the monument erected in honour of Chalcodon, where the Athenians were routed by the Amazons, and fled as far as the Temple of the Furies: but that the left wing of the Athenians, which charged from the Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceum, drove the right wing of the enemy to their camp, and slew many of them. That after four months a peace was concluded by means of Hippolyte, for so this author calls the Amazon that attended with Theseus, not Antiope. But some say this heroine fell fighting by Theseus's side, being pierced with a dart by Molpadia, and that a pillar, by the Temple of the Olympian earth,[1] was set up over her grave. Nor is it to be wondered, that in the account of things so very ancient, history should be thus uncertain, since they tell us that some Amazons, wounded by Antiope, were privately sent to Chalcis to be cured, and that some were buried there, at a place now called Amazonium. But that the war was ended by a league, we may assuredly gather from a place called Horcomosium, near the temple of Theseus, where it was sworn to, as well as from an ancient sacrifice, which is offered to the Amazons the day before the feast of Theseus. The people of Megara too shew a place, in the figure of a lozenge, where some Amazons were buried, as you go from the market-place to the place called Rhus. Others also are said to have died by Chæronea, and to have been buried by the rivulet, which, it seems, was formerly called Thermodon, but now Hæmon. It appears likewise, that the Amazons traversed Thessaly, not without opposition, for their sepulchres are shewn to this day, between Scotussæa and Cynoscephalæ.

This is all that is memorable in the story of the Amazons; for as to what the author of the Theséis relates of the Amazons rising to take vengeance for Antiope, when Theseus quitted her, and married Phædra, and of their being slain by Hercules, it has plainly the air of fable. Indeed he married Phædra after the death of Antiope, having had by the Amazon a son named Hippolytus,[2] or

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[1] By this is meant the moon, so called (as Plutarch supposes in his Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles) because like the Genii or Demons, she is neither so perfect as the gods, nor so imperfect as humankind. But as some of the philosophers, we mean the Pythagoreans, had astronomy enough afterwards to conclude that the sun is the centre of this system, we presume it might occur to thinking men in the more early ages, that the moon was an opaque, and, therefore, probably a terrene body.

[2] Theseus had a son, by the Amazonian queen, named Hippolytus, having soon after married Phædra, the sister of Deucalion, the son and successor of Minos, by whom he had two sons; he sent Hippolytus to be brought up by his own mother, Æthra, queen of Troezene: but he coming afterwards to be present

according to Pindar, Demophoon. As to the calamities which befel Phædra and Hippolytus, since the historians do not differ from what the writers of tragedy have said of them, we may look upon them as matters of fact.

Some other marriages of Theseus are spoken of, but have not been represented on the stage, which had neither an honourable beginning, nor a happy conclusion. He is also said to have forcibly carried off Anaxo of Trœzene, and having slain Sinnis and Cercyon, to have committed rapes upon their daughters: to have married Peribœa, the mother of Ajax, too, and Pherobœa, and Iope the daughter of Iphicles. Besides, they charge him with being enamoured of Ægle, the daughter of Panopeus, and, for her, leaving Ariadne, contrary to the rules of both justice and honour; but above all, with the rape of Helen, which involved Attica in war, and ended in his banishment and death.

Though there were many expeditions undertaken by the heroes of those times, Herodorus thinks that Theseus was not concerned in any of them, except in assisting the Lapithæ against the Centaurs. Others write, that he attended Jason to Colchos, and Meleager in killing the boar; and that hence came the proverb, "Nothing without Theseus." It is allowed, however, that Theseus, without any assistance, did himself perform many great exploits; and that the extraordinary instances of his valour gave occasion to the saying, "This man is another Hercules." Theseus was likewise assisting Adrastus in recovering the bodies of those that fell before Thebes, not by defeating the Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy, but by persuading them to a truce; for so most writers agree: and Philochorus is of opinion, that this was the first truce ever known for burying the dead. But Hercules was, indeed, the first who gave up their dead to the enemy. The burying place of the common soldiers is to be seen at Eleutheræ, and of the officers at Eleusis, in which particular Theseus gratified Adrastus. Æschylus, in whose tragedy of the Eleusinians Theseus is introduced relating the matter as above, contradicts what Euripides has delivered in his Suppliants.

The friendship between Theseus and Pirithous is said to have commenced on this occasion: Theseus being much celebrated for his strength and valour, Pirithous was desirous to prove it, and therefore drove away his oxen from Marathon. When he heard that Theseus pursued him in arms, he did not fly, but turned back to meet him. But as soon as they beheld one another, each was so

at some Athenian games, Phædra fell in love with him, and having solicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment, accused him to Theseus of having made an attempt upon her chastity. The fable says, that Theseus prayed to Neptune to punish him by some violent death; and all solemn execrations, according to the notions of the heathens, certainly taking effect, as Hippolytus was riding along the sea shore, Neptune sent two sea-calves, who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him to pieces. The poets add, that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief; but as for Hippolytus, Diana being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it brought upon him, prevailed upon Æsculapius to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

struck with admiration of the other's person and courage, that they laid aside all thoughts of fighting; and Pirithous first giving Theseus his hand, bade him be judge in this cause himself, and he would willingly abide by his sentence. Theseus, in his turn, left the cause to him, and desired him to be his friend and fellow-warrior. They then confirmed their friendship with an oath. Pirithous afterwards marrying Deidamia,[1] entreated Theseus to visit his country, and to become acquainted with the Lapithæ.[2] He had also invited the Centaurs to the entertainment. These, in their cups behaving with insolence and indecency, and not even refraining from the women, the Lapithæ rose up in their defence, killed some of the Centaurs upon the spot, and soon after beating them in a set battle, drove them out of the country with the assistance of Theseus. Herodorus relates the matter differently. He says that, hostilities being already begun, Theseus came in aid to the Lapithæ, and then had the first sight of Hercules, having made it his business to find him out at Trachin, where he reposed himself after all his wanderings and labours; and that this interview passed in marks of great respect, civility, and mutual compliments. But we are rather to follow those historians who write, that they had very frequent interviews; and that by means of Theseus, Hercules was initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, having first obtained lustration, as he desired, on account of several involuntary pollutions.

Theseus was now fifty years old, according to Hellanicus, when he was concerned in the rape of Helen,[3] who had not yet arrived at the years of maturity. Some writers, thinking this one of the heaviest charges against him, endeavoured to correct it, by saying it was not Theseus that carried off Helen, but Idas and Lynceus, who committed her to his care, and that therefore he refused to give her up, when demanded by Castor and Pollux; or rather that she was delivered to him by Tyndarus himself, to keep her from Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocoon, who endeavoured to possess himself by violence of Helen, who was yet but a child. But what authors generally agree in as most probable is as follows: The two friends went together to Sparta, and having seen the girl dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia, carried her off and fled. The pursuers that were sent after them following no further than Tegea, they thought themselves secure, and having traversed Peloponnesus, they entered into an agreement, that he who should gain Helen by lot should have her to wife, but be obliged to assist in procuring a wife for the other. In consequence of these terms, the lots being cast, she fell to Theseus, who received the virgin, and conveyed her, as she was not yet marriageable, to Aphidnæ. Here he placed his mother with her, and committed them to the care of his friend Aphidnus, charging

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[1] All other writers call her Hippodamia, except Propertius, who calls her Ischomache. She was the daughter of Adrastus.

[2] Homer calls the Lapithæ heroes. The Centaurs are feigned to have been half man half horse, either from their brutality, or because (if not the inventors of horsemanship, yet) they generally appeared on horseback.

[3] This princess was the reputed daughter of Jupiter, by Leda, the wife of Tyndarus, king of Œbalia, in Peloponnesus; and though then but nine years old, was reckoned the greatest beauty in the world.

him to keep them in the utmost secrecy and safety; whilst to pay his debt of service to Pirithous, he himself travelled with him into Epirus, with a view to the daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossians. This prince named his wife Proserpine,[1] his daughter Coré, and his dog Cerberus: with this dog he commanded all his daughters' suitors to fight, promising her to him that should overcome him. But understanding that Pirithous came not with an intention to court his daughter, but to carry her off by force, he seized both him and his friend, destroyed Pirithous immediately by means of his dog, and shut up Theseus in close prison.

Meantime Menestheus, the son of Peteus, grandson of Orneus, and great grandson of Erectheus, is said to be the first of mankind that undertook to be a demagogue, and by his eloquence to ingratiate himself with the people. He endeavoured also to exasperate and inspire the nobility with sedition, who had but ill borne with Theseus for some time; reflecting that he had deprived every person of family of his government and command, and shut them up together in one city, where he used them as his subjects and slaves. Among the common people he sowed disturbance by telling them, that though they pleased themselves with the dream of liberty, in fact they were robbed of their country and religion; and instead of many good and native kings, were lorded over by one man, who was a new comer and a stranger. Whilst he was thus busily employed, the war declared by the Tyndaridæ greatly helped forward the sedition. Some say plainly, they were invited by Menestheus to invade the country. At first they proceeded not in a hostile manner, only demanding their sister: but the Athenians answering, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where she was left, they began their warlike operations. Academus, however, finding it out by some means or other, told them she was concealed at Aphidnæ. Hence, not only the Tyndaridæ treated him honourably in his life time, but the Lacedæmonians, who, in after times, often made inroads into Attica, and laid waste all the country besides, spared the Academy for his sake. But Dicæarchus says, that Echedemus and Marathus, two Arcadains, being allies to the Tyndaridæ in that war, the place which now goes by the name of the Academy, was first called Echedemia, from one of them; and that from the other the district of Marathon had its name, because he freely offered himself, in pursuance of some oracle to be sacrificed at the head of the army. To Aphidnæ then they came, where they beat the enemy in a set battle, and then took the city, and razed it to the ground. There, they tell us, Alycus, the son of Sciron, was slain, fighting for Castor and Pollux; and that a certain place, within the territories of Megara, is called Alycus, from his being buried there; and Hereas writes, that Alycus

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1 Proserpine and Coré was the same person, daughter to Aidoneus, whose wife was named Ceres. Plutarch himself tells us so in his Morals, where he adds, that by Proserpine is meant the Moon, whom Pluto, or the God of Darkness, sometimes carries off. Indeed, *Coré* signifies nothing more than *young woman* or *daughter*; and they might say a *daughter of* Epirus, as we say a *daughter of* France, or *of* Spain.

received his death from Theseus's own hand. These verses also are alleged as a proof in point:

> For bright-hair'd Helen he was slain By Theseus, on Aphidna's plain.

But it is not probable that Aphidnæ would have been taken and his mother made prisoner, had Theseus been present.

Aphidnæ, however, was taken, and Athens in danger. Menestheus took this opportunity to persuade the people to admit the Tyndaridæ into the city, and to treat them hospitably, since they only levied war against Theseus, who began with violence first, but that they were benefactors and deliverers to the rest of the Athenians. Their behaviour also confirmed what was said; for, though conquerors, they desired nothing but to be admitted to the mysteries, to which they had no less claim than Hercules,[1] since they were equally allied to the city. This request was easily granted them, and they were adopted by Aphidnus, as Hercules was by Pylius. They had also divine honours paid them, with the title of Anakes, which was given them, either on account of the truce [*anoche*] which they made, or because of their great care that no one should be injured, though there were so many troops in the city; for the phrase *anakos echein* signifies to keep or take care of anything; and for this reason, perhaps, kings are called Anaktes. Some again say, they were called Anakes, because of the appearance of their stars; for the Athenians use the words *anekas* and *anekathen*, instead of *ano* and *anothen*, that is, *above* or *on high*.

We are told that Æthra, the mother of Theseus, who was now a prisoner, was carried to Lacedæmon, and from thence, with Helen, to Troy; and that Homer confirms it when, speaking of those that waited upon Helen, he mentions

> ——————The beauteous Clymene, And Æthra born of Pittheus.

Others reject this verse as none of Homer's, as they do also the story of Munychus, who is said to have been the fruit of a secret commerce between Demophoon and Laodice, and brought up by Æthra at Troy. But Ister, in the thirteenth book of his History of Attica, gives an account of Æthra different from all the rest. He was informed, it seems, that after the battle in which Alexander or Paris was routed by Achilles and Patroclus, in Thessaly, near the river Sperchius, Hector took and plundered the city of Trœzene, and carried off Æthra, who had been left there. But this is highly improbable.

It happened that Hercules, in passing through the country of the Molossians, was entertained by Aidoneus the king, who accidentally made mention of the bold attempts of Theseus and Pirithous, and of the manner in which he had punished them when discovered. Hercules was much disturbed to hear of the inglorious death of the

[1] For Castor and Pollux, like him, were sons of Jupiter, from whom the Athenians too pretended to derive their origin. It was necessary, however, that they should be naturalised before they were admitted to the mysteries, and accordingly they were naturalised by adoption.

one, and the danger of the other. As to Pirithous, he thought it in vain to expostulate about him; but he begged to have Theseus released, and Aidoneus granted it. Theseus, thus set at liberty, returned to Athens, where his party was not yet entirely suppressed, and whatever temples and groves the city had assigned him, he consecrated them all but four, to Hercules, and called them (as Philochorus relates), instead of Theseæ, Heraclea. But desiring to preside in the commonwealth, and direct it as before, he found himself encompassed with faction and sedition; for those who were his enemies before his departure, had now added to their hatred a contempt of his authority; and he beheld the people so generally corrupted, that they wanted to be flattered into their duty, instead of silently executing his commands. When he attempted to reduce them by force, he was overpowered by the prevalence of faction; and, in the end, finding his affairs desperate, he privately sent his children into Eubœa, to Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon; and himself having uttered solemn execrations against the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is still a place thence called Araterion, sailed to Scyros.[1] He imagined that there he should find hospitable treatment, as he had a paternal estate in that island. Lycomedes was then king of the Scyrians. To him, therefore, he applied, and desired to be put in possession of his lands, as intending to settle there. Some say, he asked assistance of him against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either jealous of the glory of Theseus, or willing to oblige Menestheus, having led him to the highest cliffs of the country on pretence of showing him from thence his lands, threw him down headlong from the rocks, and killed him. Others say he fell of himself, missing his step, when he took a walk, according to his custom after supper. At that time his death was disregarded, and Menestheus quietly possessed the kingdom of Athens, while the sons of Theseus attended Elphenor, as private persons in the Trojan war. But Menestheus dying in the same expedition, they returned and recovered the kingdom. In succeeding ages the Athenians honoured Theseus as a demi-god, induced to it as well by other reasons, as because, when they were fighting the Medes at Marathon, a considerable part of the army thought they saw the apparition of Theseus completely armed, and bearing down before them upon the barbarians.

After the Median war, when Phædon was archon,[2] the Athenians consulting the Oracle of Apollo were ordered by the priestess to take

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[1] The ungrateful Athenians were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost, they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him.

[2] Codrus, the seventeenth king of Athens, cotemporary with Saul, devoted himself to death for the sake of his country, in the year B.C. 1068; having learned that the Oracle had promised its enemies, the Dorians and the Heraclidæ, victory, if they did not kill the king of the Athenians. His subjects on this account conceived such veneration for him, that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of the state to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of archons, and chose Medon, the eldest son of Codrus, to this new dignity. Thus ended the legal succession and title of kings of Athens, after it had continued without any interruption 467 years, from Cecrops to Codrus. The archon acted with sovereign authority, but was accountable to the people whenever it was required. There were thirteen perpetual archons in the space of 325

up the bones of Theseus, and lay them in an honourable place at Athens, where they were to be kept with the greatest care. But it was difficult to take them up, or even to find out the grave, on account of the savage and inhospitable disposition of the barbarians who dwelt in Scyros. Nevertheless, Cimon having taken the island (as is related in his Life), and being very desirous to find out the place where Theseus was buried, by chance saw an eagle on a certain eminence, breaking the ground (as they tell us), and scratching it up with her talons. This he considered as a divine direction, and digging there, found the coffin of a man of extraordinary size, with a lance of brass and a sword lying by it. When these remains were brought to Athens in Cimon's galley, the Athenians received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, and were as much transported as if Theseus himself had returned to the city. He lies interred in the middle of the town, near the Gymnasium: and his oratory is a place of refuge for servants and all persons of mean condition, who fly from men in power, as Theseus while he lived, was a humane and benevolent patron, who graciously received the petitions of the poor. The chief sacrifice is offered to him on the 8th of Oct., the day on which he returned with the young men from Crete. They sacrifice to him likewise on each eighth day of the other months, either because he first arrived from Trœzene on the 8th of July, as Diodorus the geographer relates, or else thinking this number above all others, to be most proper to him, because he was said to be the son of Neptune, the solemn feast of Neptune being observed on the eighth day of every month. For the number eight, as the first cube of an even number, and the double of the first square, properly represents the firmness and immovable power of this god, who thence has the names of Asphalius and Gaiéochus.

LYCURGUS.[1]

OF Lycurgus the lawgiver we have nothing to relate that is certain and uncontroverted. For there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws and form of govern-

years. After the death of Alcmæon, who was the last of them, this charge was continued to the person elected for ten years only; but always in the same family, till the death of Eryxias, or, according to others, of Thrasias, the seventh and last decennial archon. For the family of Codrus or of the Medontidæ, ending in him, the Athenians created annual archons, and, instead of one, they appointed nine every year. See a further account of the archons in the Notes on the Life of Solon.

[1] The life of Lycurgus was the first which Plutarch published. He seems to have had a strong attachment to the Spartans and their customs, as Xenophon likewise had. For, besides this life, and those of several other Spartan chiefs, we have a treatise of his on the laws and customs of the Lacedæmonians, and another of Laconic Apophthegms. He makes Lycurgus in all things a perfect hero, and alleges his behaviour as a proof, that the wise man, so often described by the philosophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. It is certain, however, that the uncommon honour bestowed upon him and his laws by the Delphic oracles, were merely a contrivance between the Pythoness and himself; and some of his laws, for instance that concerning the women, were exceptionable.

ment which he established. But least of all are the times agreed upon in which this great man lived. For some say he flourished at the same time with Iphitus,[1] and joined with him in settling the cessation of arms during the Olympic games. Among these is Aristotle, who alleges for proof an Olympic quoit, on which was preserved the inscription of Lycurgus's name. But others who, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, compute the time by the succession of the Spartan kings,[2] place him much earlier than the first Olympiad. Timæus, however, supposes that, as there were two Lycurguses in Sparta at different times, the actions of both are ascribed to one, on account of his particular renown; and that the more ancient of them lived not long after Homer: nay, some say he had seen him. Xenophon, too, confirms the opinion of his antiquity, when he makes him cotemporary with the Heraclidæ. It is true, the latest of the Lacedæmonian kings were of the lineage of the Heraclidæ; but Xenophon there seems to speak of the first and more immediate descendants of Hercules.[3] As the history of those times is thus involved, in relating the circumstances of Lycurgus's life, we shall endeavour to select such as are least controverted, and follow authors of the greatest credit.

Simonides, the poet, tells us, that Prytanis, not Eunomus, was father to Lycurgus. But most writers give us the genealogy of Lycurgus and Eunomus in a different manner; for, according to them, Sous was the son of Patrocles, and grandson of Aristodemus, Eurytion the son of Sous, Prytanis of Eurytion, and Eunomus of Prytanis: to this Eunomus was born Polydectes, by a former wife, and by a second, named Dianassa, Lycurgus. Eutychidas, however, says Lycurgus was the sixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. The most distinguished of his ancestors was Sous, under whom the Lacedæmonians made the *Helotes* their slaves,[4] and

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[1] Iphitus, king of Elis, is said to have instituted, or rather restored, the Olympic games, 108 years before what is commonly reckoned the first Olympiad, which commenced in 776 B.C., or, as some will have it, 774, and bore the name of Coroebus, as the following Olympiads did those of other victors. Iphitus began with offering a sacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans behaved to have been upon some account exasperated against them. He next ordered the Olympic games, the discontinuance of which was said to have caused a pestilence, to be proclaimed all over Greece, with a promise of free admission to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them. He likewise took upon himself to be sole president and judge of those games, a privilege which the Pisæans had often disputed with his predecessors, and which continued to his descendants as long as the regal dignity subsisted. After this the people appointed two presidents, which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve.

[2] Strabo says, that Lycurgus the lawgiver, certainly lived in the fifth generation after Althemenes, who led a colony into Crete. This Althemenes was the son of Cisaus, who founded Argos, at the same time that Patrocles, Lycurgus's ancestor in the fifth degree, laid the foundations of Sparta. So that Lycurgus flourished some short time after Solomon, about 900 years B.C.

[3] This passage is in Xenophon's excellent treatise concerning the republic of Sparta, from which Plutarch has taken the best part of his life.

[4] The Helotes, or Ilotes, were inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town of Laconia. The Lacedæmonians having conquered and made slaves of them, called not only them but all the other slaves they happened to have, by the name of *Helotes*. It is certain, however, that the descendants of the original *Helotes*, though they were extremely ill-treated, and some of them assassinated, subsisted many ages in Laconia.

gained an extensive track of land from the Arcadians. Of this Sous it is related, that, being besieged by the Clitorians in a difficult post where there was no water, he agreed to give up all his conquests, provided that himself and all his army should drink of the neighbouring spring. When these conditions were sworn to, he assembled his forces, and offered his kingdom to the man that would forbear drinking; not one of them, however, would deny himself, but they all drank. Then Sous went down to the spring himself, and having only sprinkled his face in sight of the enemy, he marched off, and still held the country, because *all* had not drank. Yet, though he was highly honoured for this, the family had not their name from him, but from his son, and were called *Eurytionidæ*,[1] and this, because Eurytion seems to be the first who relaxed the strictness of kingly government, inclining to the interest of the people, and ingratiating himself with them. Upon this relaxation, their encroachments increased, and the succeeding kings, either becoming odious, treating them with greater rigour, or else giving way through weakness or in hopes of favour, for a long time anarchy and confusion prevailed in Sparta; by which one of its kings, the father of Lycurgus, lost his life. For while he was endeavouring to part some persons who were concerned in a fray, he received a wound by a knife, of which he died, leaving the kingdom to his eldest son, Polydectes.

But he too dying soon after, the general voice gave it for Lycurgus to ascend the throne; and he actually did so, till it appeared that his brother's widow was pregnant. As soon as he perceived this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her issue, provided it were male, and he kept the administration in his hands only as his guardian. This he did with the title of *Prodicos*, which the Lacedæmonians give to the guardians of infant kings. Soon after, the queen made him a private overture, that she would destroy her child, upon condition that he would marry her when king of Sparta. Though he detested her wickedness, he said nothing against the proposal, but pretending to approve it, charged her not to take any drugs to procure an abortion, lest she should endanger her own health or life; for he would take care that the child, as soon as born, should be destroyed. Thus he artfully drew on the woman to her full time, and when he heard she was in labour, he sent persons to attend and watch her delivery, with orders, if it were a girl, to give it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, in whatever business

[1] It may be proper here to give the reader a short view of the regal government of Lacedæmon, under the Herculean line. The Heraclidæ having driven out Tisamenes, the son of Orestes Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, reigned in that kingdom. Under them the government took a new form, and instead of one sovereign, became subject to two. These two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, neither did they agree to reign alternately, but they resolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority. What is surprising is, that notwithstanding this mutual jealousy, this diarchy did not end with these two brothers, but continued under a succession of 30 princes of the line of Eurysthenes, and 27 of that of Procles. Eurysthenes was succeeded by his son Aris, from whom all the descendants of that line were surnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ*, from Eurytion, the grandson of Procles, Patrocles, or Protoclas.—Pausan. Strab. et al.

he might be engaged. It happened that he was at supper with the magistrates when she was delivered of a boy, and his servants who were present, carried the child to him. When he received it, he is reported to have said to the company, *Spartans, see here your new-born king.* He then laid him down upon the chair of state, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy and admiration of his magnanimity and justice testified by all present. Thus the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight months. But the citizens had a great veneration for him on other accounts, and there were more that paid him their attentions, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than those that obeyed him as a guardian to the king, and director of the administration. There were not, however, wanting those that envied him, and opposed his advancement, as too high for so young a man; particularly the relations and friends of the queen-mother, who seemed to have been treated with contempt. Her brother, Leonidas, one day boldly attacked him with virulent language, and scrupled not to tell him, that he was well assured he would soon be king; thus preparing suspicions, and matter of accusation against Lycurgus, in case any accident should befall the king. Insinuations of the same kind were likewise spread by the queen-mother. Moved with this ill-treatment, and fearing some dark design, he determined to get clear of all suspicion, by travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up, and have a son to succeed him in the kingdom.

He set sail, therefore, and landed in Crete. There having observed the forms of government, and conversed with the most illustrious personages, he was struck with admiration of some of their laws,[1] and resolved at his return to make use of them in Sparta. Some others he rejected. Among the friends he gained in Crete, was Thales,[2] with whom he had interest enough to persuade him to go and settle at Sparta. Thales was famed for his wisdom and political abilities: he was withal a lyric poet, who under colour of exercising his art, performed as great things as the most excellent lawgivers. For his odes were so many persuasives to obedience and unanimity, as by means of melody and numbers they had great grace and power, they softened insensibly the manners of the audience, drew them off from the animosities which then prevailed, and united them in zeal for excellence and virtue. So that, in some measure, he prepared the way for Lycurgus towards the instruction of the Spartans. From Crete Lycurgus passed to Asia, desirous, as

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[1] The most ancient writers, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Aristotle, and Plato, are of opinion that Lycurgus adopted many things in the Cretan polity. But Polybius will have it that they are all mistaken. "At Sparta," says he in his sixth book, "the lands are equally divided among all the citizens: wealth is banished; the crown is hereditary; whereas in Crete the contrary obtains." But this does not prove that Lycurgus might not take some good laws and usages from Crete, and leave what he thought defective. There is, indeed, so great a conformity between the laws of Lycurgus and those of Minos, that we must believe, with Strabo, that these were the foundation of the other.

[2] This Thales, who was a poet and musician, must be distinguished from Thales the Milesian, who was one of the seven wise men of Greece. The poet lived 260 years before the philosopher.

is said, to compare the Ionian[1] expense and luxury with the Cretan frugality and hard diet, so as to judge what effect each had on their several manners and governments; just as physicians compare bodies that are weak and sickly with the healthy and robust. There also, probably he *met with Homer's poems*, which were preserved by the posterity of Cleophylus. Observing that many moral sentences, and much political knowledge were intermixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm, *he collected them into one body, and transcribed them with pleasure*, in order to take them home with him. For his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece; only some particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first that made them generally known. The Egyptians likewise suppose that he visited *them;* and as of all their institutions he was most pleased with their distinguishing the military men from the rest of the people,[2] he took the same method at Sparta, and by separating from these the mechanics and artificers, he rendered the constitution more noble and more of a piece. This assertion of the Egyptians is confirmed by some of the Greek writers. But we know of no one except Aristocrates, son of Hipparchus, and a Spartan, who has affirmed that he went to Libya and Spain, and in his Indian excursions conversed with the *Gymnosophists*.[3]

The Lacedæmonians found the want of Lycurgus when absent, and sent many embassies to entreat him to return. For they perceived that their kings had barely the title and outward appendages of royalty, but in nothing else differed from the multitude; whereas Lycurgus had abilities from nature to guide the measures of government, and powers of persuasion, that drew the hearts of men to him. The kings, however, were consulted about his return, and they hoped that in his presence they should experience less insolence amongst the people. Returning then to a city thus disposed, he immediately applied himself to alter the whole frame of the constitution; sensible that a partial change, and the introducing of some new laws, would be of no sort of advantage; but, as in the case of a body diseased and full of bad humours, whose temperament is to be corrected and new formed by medicines, it was necessary to

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[1] The Ionians sent a colony from Attica into Asia Minor, about 1050 years B.C, and 150 before Lycurgus. And though they might not be greatly degenerated in so short a time, yet our lawgiver could judge of the effect which the climate and Asiatic plenty had upon them

[2] The ancient Egyptians kept not only the priests and military men, who consisted chiefly of the nobility, distinct from the rest of the people; but the other employments, viz, those of herdsmen, shepherds, merchants, interpreters, and seamen, descended in particular tribes from father to son.

[3] Indian priests and philosophers who went almost naked, and lived in woods. The *Brachmans* were one of their sects. They had a great aversion to idleness. Apuleius tells us, every pupil of theirs was obliged to give account every day of some good he had done, either by meditation or action, before he was admitted to sit down to dinner. So thoroughly were they persuaded of the transmigration of the soul, and a happy one for themselves, that they used to commit themselves to the flames, when they had lived to satiety, or were apprehensive of any misfortune. But we are afraid it was vanity that induced one of them to burn himself before Alexander the Great, and another to do the same before Augustus Cæsar.

begin a new regimen. With these sentiments he went to Delphi, and when he had offered and consulted the god,[1] he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the priestess called him, *Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man.* As to his request that he might enact good laws, she told him, Apollo *had heard his request, and promised that the constitution he should establish would be the most excellent in the world.* Thus encouraged, he applied to the nobility, and desired them to put their hands to the work; addressing himself privately at first to his friends, and afterwards, by degrees, trying the disposition of others, and preparing them to concur in the business. When matters were ripe, he ordered 30 of the principal citizens to appear armed in the market place by break of day, to strike terror into such as might desire to oppose him. Hermippus has given us the names of 20 of the most eminent of them; but he that had the greatest share in the whole enterprise, and gave Lycurgus the best assistance in the establishing of his laws, was called Arithmiades. Upon the first alarm, king Charilaus, apprehending it to be a design against his person, took refuge in the *Chalcioicos.*[2] But he was soon satisfied, and accepted of their oath. Nay, so far from being obstinate, he joined in the undertaking. Indeed, he was so remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, that Archelaus, his partner in the throne, is reported to have said to some that were praising the young king, *Yes, Charilaus is a good man to be sure, who cannot find it in his heart to punish the bad.* Among the many new institutions of Lycurgus, the first and most important was that of a *senate;* which sharing, as Plato says,[3] in the power of the kings, too imperious and unrestrained before, and having equal authority with them, was the means of keeping them

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[1] As Minos had persuaded the Cretans that his laws were delivered to him from Jupiter, so Lycurgus, his imitator, was willing to make the Spartans believe that he did everything by the direction of Apollo. Other legislators have found it very convenient to propagate an opinion that their institutions were from the gods For that self-love in human nature, which would but ill have borne with the superiority of genius that must have been acknowledged in an unassisted lawgiver, found an ease and satisfaction in admitting his new regulations, when they were said to have come from heaven.

[2] That is, the *brazen temple.* It was standing at the time of Pausanias, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.

[3] The passage to which Plutarch refers, is in Plato's third book of *laws*, where he is examining into the cases of the downfall of states An Athenian is introduced thus speaking to a Lacedæmonian. "Some god, I believe, in his care for your state, and in his foresight of what would happen, has given you two kings of the same family, in order that reigning jointly, they might govern with the more moderation, and Sparta experience the greater tranquility" After this, when the regal authority had grown again too absolute and imperious, a divine spirit residing in a human nature (i.e. Lycurgus) reduced it within the bounds of equity and moderation by the wise provision of a senate, whose authority was to be equal to that of the kings. Aristotle finds fault with this circumstance in the institution of the senate, that the senators were to continue for life; for as the mind grows old with the body, he thought it unreasonable to put the fortunes of the citizens into the power of men who, through age, might become incapable of judging. He likewise thought it very unreasonable that they were not made accountable for their actions But for the latter convenience sufficient provision seems to have been made afterwards by the institution of the *Ephori*, who had it chiefly in charge to defend the rights of the people; and therefore Plato adds, "A third blessing to Sparta was the prince, who, finding the power of the senate and the kings too arbitrary and uncontrolled contrived the authority of the *Ephori* as a restraint upon it," &c.

within the bounds of moderation, and highly contributed to the preservation of the state. For before it had been veering and unsettled, sometimes inclining to arbitrary power, and sometimes towards a pure democracy; but this establishment of a senate, an intermediate body, like ballast, kept it in a just equilibrium, and put it in a safe posture—*the 28 senators adhering to the kings whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and, on the other hand, supporting the people, when the kings attempted to make themselves absolute.* This, according to Aristotle, was the number of senators fixed upon, because two of the 30 associates of Lycurgus deserted the business through fear. But Sphærus tells us there were only 28 at first entrusted with the design. Something, perhaps, there is in its being a perfect number, formed of seven multiplied by four, and withal the first number, after six, that is equal to all its parts. But I rather think, just so many senators were created, that, together with the two kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members.

He had this institution so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in its behalf, called *rhetra, or the decree.* This was couched in very ancient and uncommon terms, which interpreted, ran thus—*When you have built a temple to the Syllanian Jupiter, and the Syllanian Minerva,*[1] *divided the people into tribes and classes, and established a senate of 30 persons, including the two kings, you shall occasionally summon the people to an assembly between Babyce and Cnacion, and they shall have the determining voice.* Babyce and Cnacion are now called Oenus; but Aristotle thinks, by Cnacion is meant the river, and by Babyce the bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls nor any kind of building for that purpose. These things he thought of no advantage to their councils, but rather a dis-service, as they distracted the attention and turned it upon trifles, on observing the statues and pictures, the splendid roofs, and every other theatrical ornament. The people thus assembled had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorized to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings. But because, in process of time the people, by additions or retrenchments, changed the terms, and perverted the sense of the decrees, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted in the *rhetra* this clause: *If the people attempt to corrupt any law, the senate and chiefs shall retire:* that is, they shall dissolve the assembly and annul the alterations. And they found means to persuade the Spartans that this too was ordered by Apollo, as we learn from these verses of Tyrtæus—

> Ye sons of Sparta, who at Phœbus' shrine
> Your humble vows prefer attentive hear
> The god's decision. Oe'r your beauteous lands
> Two guardian kings, a senate, and the voice
> Of the concurring people, lasting laws
> Shall with joint power establish.

[1] As no account can be given of the meaning of the word *Syllanian*, it is supposed it should be either read *Sellasian*, from Sellasia, a town of Laconia upon the Eurotas; or else, *Hellenian*, as much as to say, the Grecian Jupiter, &c.

Though the government was thus tempered by Lycurgus, yet soon after it degenerated into an oligarchy, whose power was exercised with such wantonness and violence, that it wanted indeed a bridle, as Plato expresses it. This curb they found in the authority of the *Ephori*,[1] about 130 years after Lycurgus. Elatus was the first invested with this dignity in the reign of Theopompus, who, when his wife upbraided him, that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied—*Nay, but greater, because more lasting*. And in fact, the prerogative so stripped of all extravagant pretensions, no longer occasioned either envy or danger to its possessors. By these means they escaped the miseries which befell the Messenian and Argive kings, who would not in the least relax the severity of their power in favour of the people. Indeed, from nothing more does the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus appear, than from the disorderly governments and the bad understanding that subsisted between the kings and people of Messena and Argos, neighbouring states, and related in blood to Sparta. For, as at first, they were in all respects equal to her, and possessed of a better country, and yet preserved no lasting happiness, but, through the insolence of the kings and disobedience of the people, were harassed with perpetual troubles, they made it very evident that it was really a felicity more than human, a blessing from heaven to the Spartans, to have a legislator who knew so well how to frame and temper their government.[2] But this was an event of a later date.

A second and bolder political enterprise of Lycurgus was a new division of the lands. For he found a prodigious inequality, the city overcharged with many indigent persons who had no land, and

1 Herodotus (l. 1. c. 65.) and Xenophon, (*De Repub. Lac.*) tell us the *Ephori* were appointed by Lycurgus himself. But the account which Plutarch gives us from Aristotle (*Polit.* l. v.) and others, of their being instituted long after, seems more agreeable to reason. For it is not likely that Lycurgus, who in all things endeavoured to support the aristocracy, and left the people only the *right* of assenting or dissenting to what was proposed to them, would appoint a kind of tribunes of the people, to be masters as it were both of the kings and the senate. Some, indeed, suppose the *Ephori* to have been at first the king's friends, to whom they delegated their authority, when they were obliged to be in the field. But it is very clear that they were elected by the people out of their own body, and sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for the boldest citizen, whoever he was, was most likely to be chosen to this office, which was intended as a check on the senate and the kings. They were five in number, like the *Quinquestri* in the republic of Carthage. They were annually elected, and, in order to effect anything, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite. Their authority, though well designed at first, came at length to be in a manner boundless. They presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, inquired into the conduct of all magistrates, inspected the behaviour and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and in short, by degrees, drew the whole administration into their hands. They even went so far as to put king Agis to death under a form of justice, and were themselves at last killed by Cleomenes.

2 Whatever Plutarch might mean, it is certain that kingly power was abolished in the states of Messena and Argos long before the time of Lycurgus the lawgiver, and a democracy had taken place in those cities. Indeed, those states experienced great internal troubles, not only while under the government of kings, but when in the form of commonwealths, and never, after the time of Lycurgus, make any figure equal to Lacedæmon.

the wealth centred in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal—I mean poverty and riches—he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction they might seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them but that which arises from the dishonour of base actions and the praise of good ones. His proposal was put in practice. He made 9000 lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and 30,000 for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. But some say he made only 6000 shares for the city, and that Polydorus added 3000 afterwards; others, that Polydorus doubled the number appointed by Lycurgus, which were only 4500. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) 70 bushels of grain for each man,[1] and 12 for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought, sufficient for health and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. A story goes of our legislator, that some time after returning from a journey through the fields just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some that were by, *How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!*

After this, he attempted to divide also the moveables, in order to take away all appearance of inequality, but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method, counterworking their avarice by a stratagem.[2] First, he stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only, then to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a small value, so that to lay up ten *minæ* (£31 10s.), the whole room was required, and to remove it nothing less than a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedæmon. Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob, when he could not conceal the booty; when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor if cut in pieces be served by its use? For we are told that when hot, they quenched it in vinegar to make it brittle and unmalleable, and consequently unfit for any other ser-

1 By a man is meant a master of a family, whose household was to subsist upon these seventy bushels.

2 For a long time after Lycurgus, the Spartans gloriously opposed the growth of avarice: insomuch, that a young man who had bought an estate at a great advantage, was called to account for it, and a fine set upon him. For besides the injustice he was guilty of in buying a thing for less than it was worth they judged that he was too desirous of gain, since his mind was employed in getting, at an age when others think of nothing but spending. But when the Spartans, no longer satisfied with their own territories (as Lycurgus had enjoined them to be), came to be engaged in foreign wars, their money not being passable in other countries, they found themselves obliged to apply to the Persians, whose gold and silver dazzled their eyes. And their covetousness grew at length so infamous, that it occasioned the proverb mentioned by Plato, "One may see a great deal of money carried into Lacedæmon, but one never sees any of it brought out again."

vice. In the next place, he excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts: indeed, if he had not done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised, so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares; nor did any merchant-ship unlade in their harbours. There were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold or silver trinkets, because their was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself: even they who had great possessions had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless in disregarded repositories. Hence it was that excellent workmanship was shown in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables; and the Lacedæmonian cup called *cothon*, as Critias informs us, was highly valued, particularly in campaigns for the water, which must then of necessity be drank, though it would often otherwise offend the sight, had its muddiness concealed by the colour of the cup, and the thick part stopping at the shelving brim, it came clearer to the lips. Of these improvements the lawgiver was the cause; for the workmen having no more employment in matters of mere curiosity, showed the excellence of their art in necessary things.

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution which was wisely enough and ingeniously contrived. This was the use of public tables[1] where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the sametime they were forbidden to eat at home upon expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten like voracious animals in private. For so not only their manners would be corrupted, but their bodies disordered; abandoned to all manner of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm baths, and the same indulgence as in perpetual sickness. To effect this was certainly very great; but it was greater still to secure riches from rapine and from envy, as Theophrastus expresses it, or rather by their eating in common, and by the frugality of their table, to

1 Xenophon seems to have penetrated further into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to let the rest only say that this was intended to repress luxury; but he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed within their memory, and thereby exciting the growing generation to distinguish themselves by performances equally great. But as it was found impracticable for all the citizens to eat in common, when the number of them came to exceed the number of the lots of land, Dacier thinks it might have been better if the lawgiver had ordained that those public tables should be maintained at the expense of the public, as it was done to Crete. But it must be considered, that while the discipline of Lycurgus was kept up in its purity, they provided against any inconvenience from the increase of citizens, by sending out colonies, and Lacedæmon was not burdened with poor till the declension of that state.

take from riches their very being. For what use or enjoyment of them, what peculiar display of magnificence could there be, where the poor man went to the same refreshment with the rich? Hence the observation, that it was only at Sparta where *Plutus* (according to the proverb) was kept blind, and like an image, destitute of life or motion. It must further be observed, that they had not the privilege to eat at home, and so to come without appetite to the public repast: they made a point of it to observe any one that did not eat and drink with them, and to reproach him as an intemperate and effeminate person that was sick of the common diet.

The rich, therefore, (we are told) were more offended with this regulation than with any other, and rising in a body they loudly expressed their indignation: nay, they proceeded so far as to assault Lycurgus with stones, so that he was forced to fly from the assembly and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily, however, before he reached it, a young man named Alcander, hasty in his resentments, though not otherwise ill-tempered, came up with him, and upon his turning round, struck out one of his eyes with a stick. Lycurgus then stopped short, and without giving way to passion, showed the people his eye beat out, and his face streaming with blood. They were so struck with shame and sorrow at the sight, that they surrendered Alcander to him, and conducted him home with the utmost expressions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for their care of his person, and dismissed them all except Alcander. He took him into his house, but showed him no ill-treatment either by word or action, only ordering him to wait upon him instead of his usual servants and attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenuous disposition, without murmuring, did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity to observe the mildness and goodness of his heart, his strict temperance and indefatigable industry, he told his friends that Lycurgus was not that proud and severe man he might have been taken for, but above all others, gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This, then, was the chastisement, and this punishment he suffered, of a wild and headstrong young man to become a very modest and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to *Minerva Optiletis*, so called by him from a term which the Dorians use for the eye. Yet Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise concerning the Lacedæmonian government, and others, relates that his eye was hurt but not put out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddess for his cure. However, the Spartans never carried staves to their assemblies afterwards.

The public repasts were called by the Cretans *Andria;* but the Lacedæmonians styled them *Phiditia*, either from their tendency to *friendship* and mutual benevolence, *philitia* being used instead of *philitia;* or else from their teaching frugality and *parsimony*, which the word *pheido* signifies. But it is not at all impossible that the first letter might by some means or other be added, and so *philitia* take place of *editia*, which barely signifies *eating*. There were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less. Each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five

pounds of cheese, two pounds and a-half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table; for after a sacrifice of hunting he was at liberty to sup at home, but the rest were to appear at the usual place. For a long time this eating in common was observed with great exactness, so that when king Agis returned from a successful expedition against the Athenians, and from a desire to sup with his wife, requested to have his portion at home,[1] the *Polemarchs* refused to send it;[2] nay, when through resentment he neglected, the day following, to offer the sacrifice usual on occasions of victory, they set a fine upon him. Children also were introduced at these public tables, as so many schools of sobriety. There they heard discourses concerning government, and were instructed in the most liberal breeding. There they were allowed to jest without scurrility, and were not to take it ill when the raillery was returned. For *it was reckoned worthy of a Lacedæmonian to bear a jest;* but if any one's patience failed, he had only to desire them to be quiet, and they left off immediately. When they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door and said, *Not a word spoken in this company goes out there.* The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation. Each member of that small society took a little ball of soft bread in his hand. This he was to drop, without saying a word, into a vessel called *caddos*, which the waiter carried upon his head. In case he approved of the candidate, he did it without altering the figure, if not, he first pressed it flat in his hand; for a flatted ball was considered as a negative. And if but one such was found, the person was not admitted, as they thought it proper that the whole company should be satisfied with each other. He who was thus rejected, was said to have no luck in the *caddos*. The dish that was in the highest esteem amongst them was the black broth. The old men were so fond of it that they ranged themselves on one side and eat it, leaving the meat to the young people. It is related of a king of Pontus,[3] that he purchased a Lacedæmonian cook, for the sake of this broth. But when he came to taste it, he strongly expressed his dislike, and the cook made answer, *Sir, to make this broth relish, it is necessary first to bathe in the Eurotas.* After they had drank moderately, they went home without lights. Indeed, they were forbidden to walk with a light either on this or any other occasion, that they might accustom themselves to march in the darkest night boldly and resolutely. Such was the order of their public repasts.

Lycurgus left none of his laws in writing; it was ordered in one of the *Rhetræ* that none should be written. For what he thought

[1] The kings of Sparta had always double commons allowed them; not that they were permitted to indulge their appetites more than others, but that they might have an opportunity of sharing their portion with some brave man whom they chose to distinguish with that honour.

[2] The *Polemarchs* were those who had commanded the army under the kings The principal men in the state always divided the commons

[3] This story is elsewhere told by Plutarch of Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; and Cicero confirms it, that he was the person.

most conducive to the virtue and happiness of a city, was principles, interwoven with the manners and breeding of the people. These would remain immoveable, as founded in inclination, and be the strongest and most lasting tie; and the habits which education produced in the youth, would answer in each the purpose of a lawgiver. As for smaller matters, contracts about property, and whatever occasionally varied, it was better not to reduce these to a written form and unalterable method, but to suffer them to change with the times, and to admit of additions or retrenchments at the pleasure of persons so well educated. For he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth. And this was the reason why one of his ordinances forbade them to have any written laws.

Another ordinance levelled against magnificence and expense, directed that the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the axe, and the doors with nothing but the saw. For, as Epaminondas is reported to have said afterwards, of his table, *Treason lurks not under such a dinner*, so Lycurgus perceived before him, that such a house admits of no luxury and needless splendour. Indeed no man could be so absurd, as to bring into a dwelling so homely and simple, bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a train of expense that follows these: but all would necessarily have the bed suitable to the room, the coverlet of the bed and the rest of their utensils and furniture to that. From this plain sort of dwellings, proceeded the question of Leotychidas the elder to his host, when he supped at Corinth, and saw the ceiling of the room very splendid and curiously wrought, *Whether trees grew square in this country.*[1]

A third ordinance of Lycurgus was, that they should not often make war against the same enemy, lest, by being frequently put upon defending themselves, they too should become able warriors in their turn. And this they most blamed king Agesilaus for afterwards, that by frequent and continued incursions into Boeotia,[2] he taught the Thebans to make head against the Lacedæmonians. This made Antalcidas say, when he saw him wounded, *The Thebans pay you well for making them good soldiers who neither were willing nor able to fight you before.* These ordinances he called *Rhetræ*, as if they had been oracles and decrees of the Deity himself.

As for the education of youth, which he looked upon as the greatest and most glorious work of a lawgiver, he began with it at the very source, taking into consideration their conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For he did not (as Aristotle says) desist from his attempt to bring the woman under sober rules. They had, indeed, assumed great liberty and power on account of the frequent expeditions of their husbands, during which they were left sole mistresses at home, and so gained an undue deference and

1 This is rendered by the former English translator, as if Leotychidas's question proceeded from ignorance, whereas it was really an arch sneer upon the sumptuous and expensive buildings of Corinth.

2 This appeared plainly at the battle of Leuctra, where the Lacedæmonians were overthrown by Epaminondas, and lost their king, Cleombrotus, together with the flower of their army.

improper titles; but notwithstanding this he took all possible care of them. He ordered the virgins to exercise themselves in running, wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts; that their bodies being strong and vigorous, the children afterwards produced from them might be the same; and that, thus fortified by exercise, they might the better support the pangs of childbirth, and be delivered with safety. In order to take away the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the sex, the consequence of a recluse life, he accustomed the virgins occasionally to be seen naked as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence on certain festivals. There they sometimes indulged in a little raillery upon those that had misbehaved themselves, and sometimes they sung encomiums on such as deserved them, thus exciting in the young men a useful emulation and love of glory. For he who was praised for his bravery and celebrated among the virgins, went away perfectly happy: while their satirical glances thrown out in sport, were no less cutting than serious admonitions; especially as the kings and senate went with the other citizens to see all that passed. As for the virgins appearing naked, there was nothing disgraceful in it, because everything was conducted with modesty, and without one indecent word or action. Nay, it caused a simplicity of manners and an emulation for the best habit of body; their ideas too were naturally enlarged, while they were not excluded from their share of bravery and honour. Hence they were furnished with sentiments and language, such as Gorgo the wife of Leonidas is said to have made use of. When a woman of another country said to her, *You of Lacedæmon are the only women in the world that rule the men: she answered, We are the only women that bring forth men.*

These public dances and other exercises of the young maidens naked, in sight of the young men, were, moreover, incentives to marriage: and, to use Plato's expression, drew them almost as necessarily by the attractions of love, as a geometrical conclusion follows from the premises. To encourage it still more, some marks of infamy were set upon those that continued batchelors.[1] For they were not permitted to see these exercises of the naked virgins; and the magistrates commanded them to march naked round the market-place in the winter, and to sing a song composed against themselves, which expressed how justly they were punished for their disobedience to the laws. They were also deprived of that honour and respect which the younger people paid to the old; so that nobody found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, though an eminent commander. It seems, when he came one day into company, a young man, instead of rising up and giving place, told him, *You have no child to give place to me when I am old.*

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[1] The time of marriage was fixed; and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to a prosecution; as were such also who married above or below themselves. Such as had three children had great immunities; and those that had four were free from all taxes. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations.

In their marriages, the bridegroom carried off the bride by violence; and she was never chosen in a tender age, but when she had arrived at full maturity. Then the woman that had the direction of the wedding, cut the bride's hair close to the skin, dressed her in man's clothes, laid her upon a mattress, and left her in the dark. The bridegroom, neither oppressed with wine nor enervated with luxury, but perfectly sober, as having always supped at the common table, went in privately, untied her girdle, and carried her to another bed. Having staid there a short time, he modestly retired to his usual apartment, to sleep with the other young men; and observed the same conduct afterwards, spending the day with his companions, and reposing himself with them in the night, nor even visiting his bride but with great caution and apprehensions of being discovered by the rest of the family; the bride at the same-time exerted all her art to contrive convenient opportunities for their private meetings. And this they did not for a short time only, but some of them even had children before they had an interview with their wives in the day time. This kind of commerce not only exercised their temperance and chastity, but kept their bodies fruitful, and the first ardour of their love fresh and unabated; for as they were not satiated like those that are always with their wives, there still was place for unextinguished desire. When he had thus established a proper regard to modesty and decorum with respect to marriage, he was equally studious to drive from that state the vain and womanish passion of jealousy; by making it quite as reputable to have children in common with persons of merit, as to avoid all offensive freedom in their own behaviour to their wives. He laughed at those who revenge with wars and bloodshed the communication of a married woman's favours; and allowed, that if a man in years should have a young wife, he might introduce to her some handsome and honest young man, whom he most approved of, and when she had a child of this generous race, bring it up as his own. On the other hand, he allowed, that if a man of character should entertain a passion for a married woman on account of her modesty and the beauty of her children, he might treat with her husband for admission to her company,[1] that so planting in a beauty-bearing soil, he might produce excellent children, the congenial offspring of excellent parents. For, in the first place, Lycurgus considered children, not so much the property of their parents as of the state; and therefore he would not have them begot by ordinary persons, but by the best men in it. In the next place, he observed the vanity and absurdity of other nations, where people study to have their horses and dogs of the finest breed they can procure either by interest or money; and yet keep their wives shut up, that they may have children by none but themselves, though they may happen to be doting, decripped, or infirm. As if children, when sprung from a bad stock, and consequently good for nothing, were no detriment to those whom they belong to, and who have the trouble of bringing

[1] In this case the kings were excepted; they were not at liberty to lend their wives.

them up, nor any advantage when well descended and of a generous disposition. These regulations tending to secure a healthy offspring, and consequently beneficial to the state, were so far from encouraging that licentiousness of the women which prevailed afterwards, that adultery was not known amongst them. A saying upon this subject, of Geradas, an ancient Spartan, is thus related. A stranger had asked him, *What punishment their law appointed for adulterers?* He answered, *My friend, there are no adulterers in our country.* The other replied, *But what if there should be one? Why then,* says Geradas, *he must forfeit a bull so large that he might drink of the Eutoras from the top of Mount Taygetus.* When the stranger expressed his surprise at this, and said, *How can such a bull be found?* Geradas answered with a smile, *How can an adulterer be found in Sparta?* This is the account we have of their marriages.

It was not left to the father to rear what children he pleased, but he was obliged to carry the child to a place called *Leschæ*, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well-proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the 9000 shares of land; but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called *Apothetæ*, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus; concluding that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution.[1] For the same reason the women did not wash their new-born infants with water but with wine, thus making some trial of their habit of body, imagining that sickly and epileptic children sink and die under the experiment, while healthy ones became more vigorous and hardy. Great care and art was also exerted by the nurses, for as they never swathed the infants, their limbs had a freer turn and their countenances a more liberal air; besides, they used them to any sort of meat, to have no terrors in the dark, nor to be afraid of being alone, and to leave all ill-humour and unmanly crying. Hence people of other countries purchased Lacedæmonian nurses for their children, and Alcibiades the Athenian is said to have been nursed by Amicla, a Spartan. But if he was fortunate in a nurse, he was not so in a preceptor, for Zopyrus appointed to that office by Pericles, was, as Plato tells us, no better qualified than a common slave. The Spartan children were not in that manner under tutors purchased or hired with money; nor were the parents at liberty to educate them as they pleased; but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He who showed the most conduct and courage amongst

[1] The general expediency of this law may well be disputed, though it suited the martial constitution of Sparta; since many persons of weak constitutions make up in ingenuity what they want in strength, and so become more valuable members of the community than the most robust. It seems, however, to have had one good effect, viz., making women very careful during their pregnancy of either eating, drinking, or exercising to excess. It made them also excellent nurses.

them was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishment he inflicted, so that their whole education was an exercise of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle.

As for learning,[1] they had just what was absolutely necessary. All the rest of their education was calculated to make them subject to command, to endure labour, to fight and conquer. They added, therefore, to their discipline as they advanced in age; cutting their hair very close, making them go barefoot, and play for the most part quite naked. At twelve years of age, their under garment was taken away, and but one upper one a year allowed them. Hence they were necessarily dirty in their persons, and not indulged in the great favour of baths and oils, except on some particular days of the year. They slept in companies, on beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands, without knives, and brought them from the banks of the Eurotas. In winter they were permitted to add a little thistle-down, as that seemed to have some warmth in it.

At this age, the most distinguished amongst them became the favourite companions of the elder;[2] and the old men attended more constantly their places of exercise, observing their trials of strength and wit, not slightly and in a cursory manner, but as their fathers, guardians, and governors; so that there was neither time nor place where persons were wanting to instruct and chastise them. One of the best and ablest men of the city was, moreover, appointed inspector of the youth, and he gave the command of each company to the discreetest and most spirited of those called *Irens*. An *Iren* was one that had been two years out of the class of boys; a *Melliren*, one of the oldest lads. This *Iren*, then a youth twenty years old,

[1] The plainness of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made the Lacedæmonians less fond of the sciences than the rest of the Greeks. If they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the Athenians, who were excessively vain of their learning, held them in great contempt; insomuch that Thucydides himself, in drawing the character of Brasidas, says, "He spoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian." On this occasion, it is proper to mention the answer of a Spartan to a learned Athenian, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: "All you say may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the Greeks have learned no evil customs from you." The Spartans, however, had a force and poignancy of expression, which cut down all the flowers of studied elegance. This was the consequence of their concise way of speaking, and their encouraging, on all occasions, decent repartee. Arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences. Theatrical diversions found no countenance; temperance and exercise made the physician unnecessary; their justice left no room for the practice of the lawyer; and all the trades that minister to luxury were unknown. As for agriculture, and such mechanical business as was absolutely necessary, it was left to the slaves.

[2] Though the youth of the male sex were much cherished and beloved, as those that were to build up the future glory of the state, yet in Sparta it was a virtuous and modest affection, untinged with that sensuality which was so scandalous at Athens and other places. Xenophon says, these lovers lived with those they were attached to as a father does with his children, or a brother with his brethren. The good effects of this part of Lycurgus's institutions were seen in the union that reigned among the citizens.

gives orders to those under his command, in their little battle, and has them to serve him at his house. He sends the oldest of them to fetch wood, and the younger to gather pot-herbs; these they steal where they can find them,[1] either slily getting into gardens, or else craftily and warily creeping to the common tables. But if anyone be caught he is severely flogged for negligence or want of dexterity. They steal, too, whatever victuals they possibly can, ingeniously contriving to do it when persons are asleep, or keep but indifferent watch. If they are discovered, they are punished not only with whipping but with hunger. Indeed, their supper is but slender at all times, that to fence against want, they may be forced to exercise their courage and address. This is the first intention of their spare diet; a subordinate one is to make them grow tall. For when the animal spirits are not too much oppressed by a great quantity of food, which stretches itself out in breadth and thickness, they mount upwards by their natural lightness, and the body easily and freely shoots up in height. This also contributes to make them handsome; for thin and slender habits yield more freely to nature, which then gives a fine proportion to the limbs, whilst the heavy and gross resist her by their weight. So women that take physic during their pregnancy have slighter children indeed, but of a finer and more delicate turn, because the suppleness of the matter more readily obeys the plastic power.

The boys steal with so much caution, that one of them having conveyed a young fox under his garment, suffered the creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, choosing rather to die than to be detected. Nor does this appear incredible, if we consider what their young men can endure to this day, for we have seen many of them expire under the lash at the altar of *Diana Orthia*.[2]

The *Iren*, reposing himself after supper, used to order one of the boys to sing a song; to another he put some question which required a judicious answer: for example, *Who was the best man in the city?* or, *What he thought of such an action?* This accustomed them from their childhood to judge of the virtues and enter into the affairs of their countrymen. For if one of them was asked, Who is a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and hesitated in his answer, he was

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1 Not that the Spartans authorised thefts and robberies; for as all was common in their republic, those vices could have no place there. But the design was to accustom children who were destined for war, to surprise the vigilance of those who watched over them, and to expose themselves courageously to the severest punishments, in case they failed of that dexterity which was exacted of them, a dexterity that would have been attended with fatal effects to the morals of any youth but the Spartan, educated as that was, to contemn riches and superfluities, and guarded in all other respects by the severest virtue.

2 This is supposed to be the Diana *Taurica*, whose statue Orestes is said to have brought to Lacedæmon, and to whom human victims were offered. It is pretended that Lycurgus abolished these sacrifices, and substituted in their room the flagellation of young men, with whose blood the altar was at least to be sprinkled. But, in truth, a desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only superior to their neighbours but to their species, runs through many of the institutions of Lycurgus; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impossible to give *any* account at all of some of them.

considered a boy of slow parts, and of a soul that would not aspire to honour. The answer was likewise to have a reason assigned to it, and proof conceived in few words. He whose account of the matter was wrong, by way of punishment had his thumb bit by the *Iren*. The old men and magistrates often attended these little trials, to see whether the *Iren* exercised his authority in a rational and proper manner. He was permitted, indeed, to inflict the penalties; but when the boys were gone, he was to be chastised himself if he had punished them either with too much severity or remissness.

The adopters of favourites also shared both in the honour and disgrace of their boys, and one of them is said to have been mulcted by the magistrates, because the boy whom he had taken into his affections let some ungenerous word or cry escape him as he was fighting. This love was so honourable and in so much esteem, that the virgins too had their lovers amongst the most virtuous matrons. A competition of affection caused no misunderstanding, but rather a mutual friendship between those that had fixed their regards upon the same youth, and an united endeavour to make him as accomplished as possible.

The boys were also taught to use sharp repartee seasoned with humour, and whatever they said was to be concise and pithy. For Lycurgus fixed but a small value on a considerable quantity of his iron money; but on the contrary, the worth of speech was to consist in its being comprised in a few plain words, pregnant with a great deal of sense; and he contrived that by long silence they might learn to be sententious and acute in their replies. As debauchery often causes weakness and sterility in the body, so the intemperance of the tongue makes conversation empty and insipid. King Agis, therefore, when a certain Athenian laughed at the Lacedæmonian short swords, and said, *The jugglers would swallow them with ease upon the stage*, answered in his laconic way, *And yet we can reach our enemies' hearts with them.* Indeed, to me there seems to be something in this concise manner of speaking which immediately reaches the object aimed at, and forcibly strikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himself was short and sententious in his discourse, if we may judge by some of his answers which are recorded; that, for instance, concerning the constitution. When one advised him to establish a popular government in Lacedæmon, *Go*, said he, *and first make a trial of it in thy own family.* That again, concerning sacrifices to the Deity, when he was asked why he appointed them so trifling and of so little value, *That we might never be in want*, said he, *of something to offer him.* Once more, when they inquired of him, what sort of martial exercises he allowed of, he answered, *All, except those in which you stretch*[1] *out your hands.* Several such like replies of his are said to be taken from the letters which he wrote to his countrymen; as to their question, "How shall we best guard against the invasion of an enemy?" *By continuing poor, and not desiring in your possession to be one above another.* And to the

[1] The form of demanding quarter in battle.

question, whether they should enclose Sparta with walls, *That city is well fortified, which has a wall of men instead of brick.* Whether these and some other letters ascribed to him are genuine or not, is no easy matter to determine. However, that they hated long speeches, the following apophthegms are a farther proof. King Leonidas said to one who discoursed at an improper time about affairs of some concern, *My friend, you should not talk so much to the purpose, of what it is not to the purpose to talk of.* Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered, *To men of few words, few laws are sufficient.* Some people finding fault with Hecatæus the sophist, because, when admitted to one of the public repasts, he said nothing all the time, Archidamidas replied, *He that knows how to speak, knows also when to speak.*

That the manner of their repartees, were seasoned with humour, may be gathered from these instances. When a troublesome fellow was pestering Demaratus with impertinent questions, and this in particular several times repeated, "Who is the best man in Sparta?" He answered, *He that is least like you.* To some who were commending the Eleans for managing the Olympic games with so much justice and propriety, Agis said, "*What great matter is it, if the Eleans do justice once in five years?*" When a stranger was professing his regard for Theopompus, and saying that his own countrymen called him *Philolacon* (a lover of the Lacedæmonians), the king answered him, *My good friend, it were much better, if they called you Philopolites* (a lover of your own countrymen). Plistonax, the son of Pausanias, replied to an orator of Athens, who said the Lacedæmonians had no learning, *True, for we are the only people of Greece that have learned no ill of you.* To one who asked what number of men there was in Sparta, Archidamidas said, *Enough to keep bad men at a distance.*

Even when they indulged a vein of pleasantry, one might perceive, that they would not use one unnecessary word, nor let an expression escape them that had not some sense worth attending to. For one being asked to go and hear a person who imitated the nightingale to perfection, answered, *I have heard the nightingale herself.* Another said, upon reading this epitaph.

Victims of Mars, at Selinus they fell, Who quenched the rage of tyranny. —

"And they deserved to fall, for, instead of *quenching* it, they should have let it *burn out.*" A young man answered one that promised him some game-cocks that would stand their death, *Give me those that will be the death of others.* Another seeing some people carried into the country in litters said, *May I never sit in any place where I cannot rise before the aged.* This was the manner of their apophthegms: so that it has been justly enough observed that the term *lakonizein* (to act the Lacedæmonian) is to be referred rather to the exercises of the mind, than those of the body.

Nor were poetry and music less cultivated among them, than a concise dignity of expression. Their songs had a spirit, which could

rouse the soul, and impel it in an enthusiastic manner to action. The language was plain and manly, the subject serious and moral. For they consisted chiefly of the praise of heroes that had died for Sparta, or else of expressions of detestation for such wretches as had declined the glorious opportunity, and rather chose to drag on life in misery and contempt. Nor did they forget to express an ambition for glory suitable to their respective ages. Of this it may not be amiss to give an instance. There were three choirs on their festivals, corresponding with the three ages of man. The old men began,

Once in battle bold we shone;

the young men answered,

Try us; our vigour is not gone;

and the boys concluded,

The helm remains for us alone.

Indeed, if we consider with some attention such of the Lacedæmonian poems as are still extant, and get into those airs which were played upon the flute when they marched to battle, we must agree, that Terpander[1] and Pindar have very fitly joined valour and music together. The former thus speaks of Lacedæmon,

There gleams the youth's bright helmet: there the muse
Lifts her sweet voice; their awful Justice rules her wide pavilion.

And Pindar sings,

There in grave council sits the sage;
There burns the youth's relistless rage
To hurl the quiv'ring lance;
The muse with glory crowns their arms,
And Melody exerts her charms,
And Pleasure leads the dance.

Thus we are informed, not only of their warlike turn, but their skill in music. For as the Spartan poet says:

To swell the bold notes of the lyre, Becomes the warrior's lofty fire.

And the king always offered sacrifice to the muse[2] before a battle, putting his troops in mind, I suppose, of their early education and of the judgment that would be passed upon them; as well as that those divinities might teach them to despise danger while they performed some exploit fit for *them* to celebrate.

On these occasions[3] they relaxed the severity of their discipline,

1 Terpander was a poet and musician too (as indeed they of those times were in general,) who added three strings to the harp, which till then had but four. He flourished about 120 years after Homer.

2 Xenophon says, the king who commanded the army sacrificed to Jupiter and Minerva on the frontier of his kingdom. Probably the muses were joined with Minerva the patroness of science.

3 The true reason of this was, in all probability, that war might be less burthensome to them; for to render them bold and warlike was the reigning passion of their legislator. Under this article we may add, that they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, as well to hinder their being surprised, as that they might be more troublesome to their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They were also forbidden to fight the same enemy often. They slept all night in their armour; but their outguards were not allowed their shields, that, being unprovided of defence, they might not dare to sleep. In all expeditions they were careful in the performance of religious rites: and after their evening meal was over, the soldiers sung together hymns to the gods.

permitting their men to be curious in dressing their hair, and elegant in their arms and apparel, while they expressed their alacrity, like horses full of fire and neighing for the race. They let their hair, therefore, grow from their youth, but took more particular care, when they expected an action, to have it well combed and shining; remembering a saying of Lycurgus, that *a large head of hair made the handsome more graceful, and the ugly more terrible.* The exercises, too, of the young men, during the campagins, were more moderate, their diet not so hard, and their whole treatment more indulgent: so that they were the only people in the world with whom military discipline wore in time of war a gentler face than usual. When the army was drawn up, and the enemy near, the king sacrificed a goat, and commanded them all to set garlands upon their heads, and the musicians to play *Castro's* march, while himself began the *pæan*, which was the signal to advance. It was at once a solemn and dreadful sight to see them measuring their steps to the sound of music, and without the least disorder in their ranks or tumult of spirits, moving forward cheerfully and composedly, with harmony to battle. Neither fear nor rashness was likely to approve men so disposed, possessed as they were of a firm presence of mind, with courage and confidence of success, as under the conduct of heaven. When the king advanced against the enemy, he had always with him some one that had been crowned in the public games of Greece. And they tell us, that a Lacedæmonian, when large sums were offered him on condition that he would not enter the Olympic lists, refused them: having with much difficulty thrown his antagonist, one put this question to him, "Spartan, what will you get by this victory?" He answered with a smile, *I shall have the honour to fight foremost in the ranks before my prince.* When they had routed the enemy, they continued the pursuit till they were assured of the victory: after that they immediately desisted; deeming it neither generous nor worthy of a Grecian to destroy those who made no further resistance. This was not only a proof of magnanimity, but of great service to their cause. For when their adversaries found that they killed such as stood it out, but spared the fugitives, they concluded it was better to fly than to meet their fate upon the spot.

Hippias the sophist tells us, that Lycurgus himself was a man of great personal valour, and an experienced commander.[1] Philostephanus also ascribes to him the first division of cavalry into troops of fifty, who were drawn up in a square body. But Demetrius the Phalerean says, that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace imaginable when he established the constitution of Sparta. His providing for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games is likewise a mark of the humane and peaceable man. Some, however, acquaint us, and among the rest Hermippus, that Lycurgus at first had no communication with

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1 Xenophon, in his treatise of the Spartan commonwealth, says, Lycurgus brought military discipline to great perfection, and gives us a detail of his regulations and improvement in the art of war

Iphitus; but coming that way, and happening to be a spectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought), which expressed some wonder and displeasure that he did not put his countrymen upon resorting to so great an assembly. He turned round immediately to discover whence the voice came, and as there was no man to be seen, concluded it was from heaven. He joined Iphitus, therefore, and ordering along with him the ceremonies of the festival, rendered it more magnificent and lasting.

The discipline of the Lacedæmonians continued after they were arrived at the years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleased; the city being like one great camp where all had their stated allowance, and knew their public charge, *each man concluding that he was born, not for himself, but for his country.* Hence, if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys, and teaching them something useful, or in learning of those that were older than themselves. One of the greatest privileges that Lycurgus procured his countrymen, was the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanic trade. It was not worth their while to take great pains to raise a fortune, since riches there were of no account: and the *Helotes*, who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce. To this purpose we have a story of a Lacedæmonian, who, happening to be at Athens while the court sat, was informed of a man who was fined for idleness; and when the poor fellow was returning home in great dejection, attended by his condoling friends, he desired the company to show him the person that was *condemned for keeping up his dignity.* So much beneath them they reckoned all attention to mechanic arts, and all desire of riches!

Lawsuits were banished from Lacedæmon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Hence, when they were not engaged in war, their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise, or converse. They went not to market under thirty years of age,[1] all their necessary concerns being managed by their relations and adopters. Nor was it reckoned a credit to the old to be seen sauntering in the market-place; it was deemed more suitable for them to pass great part of the day in the schools of exercise or places of conversation. Their discourse seldom turned upon money, or business, or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless; and the last was expressed with that pleasantry and humour, which conveyed instruction and correction without seeming to intend it. Nor was Lycurgus himself immoderately severe in his manner; but, as Sosibius tells us, he dedicated a little statue to the god of laughter in each hall. He considered factiousness as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, and

[1] This also is said to have been the age when they began to serve in the army. But as they were obliged to 40 years' service before the law exempted them from going into the field, I incline to the opinion of those writers who think that the military age is not well ascertained.

therefore ordered it to take place on all proper occasions, in their common entertainments and parties of pleasure.

Upon the whole, he taught his citizens to think nothing more disagreeable than to live by (or for) themselves. Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the public good, and always assembled about their prince. They were possessed with a thirst of honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country. These sentiments are confirmed by some of their aphorisms. When Pædaretus lost his election for one of the *300*, he went away *rejoicing that there were 300 better men than himself found in the city*.[1] Pisistratidas going with some others, ambassador to the king of Persia's lieutenants, was asked whether they came with a public commission, or on their own account, to which he answered, *if successful, for the public; if unsuccessful, for ourselves*. Agrileonis, the mother of Brasidas,[2] asking some Amphipolitans that waited upon her at her house, whether Brasidas died honourably and as became a Spartan? they greatly extolled his merit, and said there was not such a man left in Sparta; whereupon she replied, *Say not so, my friends; for Brasidas was indeed a man of honour, but Lacedæmon can boast of many better men than he.*

The senate consisted at first of those that were assistants to Lycurgus in his great enterprise. Afterwards, to fill up any vacancy that might happen, he ordered the most worthy men to be selected of those that were full 60 years old. This was the most respectable dispute in the world, and the contest was truly glorious, for it was not who should be swiftest among the swift, or strongest of the strong, but who was the wisest and best among the good and wise. He who had the preference was to bear this mark of superior excellence through life, this great authority, which put into his hands the lives and honour of the citizens, and every other important affair. The manner of the election was this: When the people were assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose were shut up in a room near the place, where they could neither see nor be seen, and only hear the shouts of the constituents,[3] for by them they decided this and most other affairs. Each candidate walked silently through the assembly, one after another according to lot. Those that were shut up had writing-tables, in which they set down in different columns the number and loudness of the shouts, without knowing who they were for, only they marked them as I. II. III., and so on, according to the number of the competitors. He that had the most and loudest

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[1] Xenophon says, it was the custom for the ephori to appoint three officers, each of whom was to select 100 men, the best he could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of these 300.

[2] Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, defeated the Athenians in a battle fought near Amphipolis, a town of Macedonia, on the banks of the Strymon, but lost his life in the action.—Thucydid. lib v.

[3] As this was a tumultuary and uncertain way of deciding who had the majority, they were often obliged to separate the people and count the votes. Aristotle thinks that in such a case persons should not offer themselves candidates, or solicit the office or employment, but be called to it merely for their abilities and their merit.

acclamations was declared duly elected. Then he was crowned with a garland, and went round to give thanks to the gods; a number of young men followed, striving which should extol him most, and the women celebrated his virtues in their songs, and blessed his worthy life and conduct. Each of his relations offered him a repast, and their address on the occasion was, *Sparta honours you with this collation.* When he had finished the procession, he went to the common table and lived as before. Only two portions were set before him, one of which he carried away; and as all the women related to him attended at the gates of the public hall, he called her for whom he had the greatest esteem, and presented her with the portion, saying at the same time, *That which I received as a mark of honour, I give to you.* Then she was conducted home with great applause by the rest of the women.

Lycurgus likewise made good regulations with respect to burials. In the first place, to take away all superstition, he ordered the dead to be buried in the city, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples: accustoming the youth to such sights from their infancy, that they might have no uneasiness from them, nor any horror for death, as if people were polluted with the touch of a dead body, or with treading upon a grave. In the next place, he suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapped.[1] Nor would he suffer the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men that fell in battle, or those women who died in some sacred office. He fixed eleven days for the time of mourning: on the twelfth they were to put an end to it, after offering sacrifice to Ceres. No part of life was left vacant and unimproved, but even with their necessary actions he interwove the praise of virtue and the contempt of vice, and he so filled the city with living examples, that it was next to impossible for persons who had these from their infancy before their eyes, not to be drawn and formed to honour.

For the same reason he would not permit all that desired to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different form of government. He forbid strangers too[2] to resort to Sparta, who could not assign a good reason for their coming; not, as Thucydides says, out of fear they should imitate the constitution of that city, and make improvements in virtue, but lest they should teach his own people some evil. For along with foreigners come new subjects of discourse,[3] new discourse produces new opinions; and from

[1] Ælian tells us (L. vi. c. 6.) that not all the citizens indifferently were buried in the red cloth and olive leaves, but only such as had distinguished themselves particularly in the field.

[2] He received with pleasure such strangers as came and submitted to his laws, and assigned them shares of land, which they could not alienate. Indeed, the lots of all the citizens were unalienable.

[3] Xenophon, who was an eye-witness, imputes the changes in the Spartan discipline to foreign manners. But in fact they had a deeper root. When the Lacedæmonians, instead of keeping to their lawgiver's injunction, only to defend their own country, and to make no conquests, carried their victorious arms over all Greece and into Asia itself, then foreign gold and foreign manners came into Sparta, corrupted the simplicity of his institutions, and at last overturned that republic.

these there necessarily spring new passions and desires, which, like discords in music, would disturb the established government. He therefore thought it more expedient for the city, to keep out of it corrupt customs and manners, than even to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

Thus far, then, we can perceive no vestiges of a disregard to right and wrong, which is the fault some people find with the laws of Lycurgus, allowing them well enough calculated to produce valour, but not to promote justice. Perhaps it was the *Cryptia*,[1] as they called it, or *ambuscade*, if that was really one of this lawgiver's institutions, as Aristotle says it was, which gave Plato so bad an impression both of Lycurgus and his laws. The governors of the youth ordered the shrewdest of them from time to time to disperse themselves in the country, provided only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the daytime they hid themselves, and rested in the most private places they could find, but at night they sallied out into the roads, and killed all the *Helotes* they could meet with. Nay, sometimes by day they fell upon them in the fields, and murdered the ablest and strongest of them. Thucydides relates in his History of the Peloponnesian War, that the Spartans selected such of them as were distinguished for their courage, to the number of 2000 or more, declared them free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods, but soon after they all disappeared, and no one could, either then or since, give account in what manner they were destroyed. Aristotle particularly says, that the *ephori*, as soon as they were invested in their office, declared war against the *Helotes*, that they might be massacred under pretence of law. In other respects they treated them with great inhumanity; sometimes they made them drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls to show the young men what drunkenness was. They ordered them, too, to sing mean songs and to dance ridiculous dances, but not to meddle with any that were genteel and graceful. Thus they tell us, that when the Thebans afterwards invaded Laconia, and took a great

1 The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians towards the *Helotes*, is frequently spoken of, and generally decried by all authors; though Plutarch, who was a great admirer of the Spartans, endeavours to palliate it as much as may be. These poor wretches were marked out for slaves in their dress, their gesture, and, in short, in every thing. They wore dog skin bonnets and sheep-skin vests; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art; or to perform any act worthy of their masters. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves: and, to crown all, they were liable to this *cryptia*, which was sure to be executed on all such as spoke, looked, or walked like freemen; a cruel and unnecessary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people. The *ephori*, indeed, declared war against them. Against whom? why, against poor naked slaves, who tilled their lands, dressed their food, and did all those offices for them, which they were too proud to do for themselves. Plutarch, according to custom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus; and alleges that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the Messenians after a terrible earthquake, that happened about 467 years B.C., whereby a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown, and in which about 20,000 Spartans perished. But Ælian tells us expressly (Hist. Var l. iii.), that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating those *Helotes* with such inhumanity.

number of the Helotes prisoners, they ordered them to sing the odes of Terpander, Aleman, or Spendon the Lacedæmonian, but they excused themselves, alleging that it was forbidden by their masters. Those who say that a freeman in Sparta was most a freeman, and a slave most a slave, seem well to have considered the difference of states. But in my opinion, it was in aftertimes that these cruelties took place among the Lacedæmonians, chiefly after the great earthquake, when, as history informs us, the *Helotes* joining the Messenians, attacked them, did infinite damage to the country, and brought the city to the greatest extremity. I can never ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable an act as that of the *ambuscade*. I would judge in this case by the mildness and justice which appeared in the rest of his conduct, to which also the gods gave their sanction.

When his principal institutions had taken root in the manners of the people, and the government was come to such maturity as to be able to support and preserve itself, then, as *Plato says of the Deity, that he rejoiced when he had created the world, and given it its first motion;* so Lycurgus was charmed with the beauty and greatness of his political establishment, when he saw it exemplified in fact, and move on in due order. He was next desirous to make it immortal, so far as human wisdom could effect it, and to deliver it down unchanged to the latest times. For this purpose he assembled all the people, and told them the provisions he had already made for the state were indeed sufficient for virtue and happiness, but the greatest and most important matter was still behind, which he could not disclose to them till he had consulted the oracle; that they must therefore inviolably observe his laws without altering anything in them, till he returned from Delphi, and then he would acquaint them with the pleasure of Apollo. When they had all promised to do so, and desired him to set forward, he took an oath of the kings and senators, and afterwards of all the citizens, that they would abide by the present establishment till Lycurgus came back. He then took his journey to Delphi.

When he arrived there he offered sacrifice to the gods, and consulted the oracle whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue and secure the happiness of the state. Apollo answered that the laws were excellent, and that the city which kept to the constitution he had established, would be the most glorious in the world. This oracle Lycurgus took down in writing and sent it to Sparta. He then offered another sacrifice, and embraced his friends and his son, determined never to release his citizens from their oath, but voluntarily there to put a period to his life,[1] while he was yet of an age when life was not a burden, when death was not desirable, and while he was not unhappy in any one circumstance. He, therefore, destroyed himself by abstaining from food, persuaded that the very death of lawgivers should have its use, and their exit, so far from being insignificant, have its share of virtue, and be considered as a great action. To him, indeed, whose performances were so illustri-

1 Yet Lucian says that Lycurgus died at the age of 85.

ous, the conclusion of life was the crown of happiness, and his death was left guardian of those invaluable blessings he had procured his countrymen through life, as they had taken an oath not to depart from his establishment till his return. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Sparta continued superior to the rest of Greece, both in its government at home and reputation abroad, so long as it retained the institution of Lycurgus; and this it did during the space of 500 years, and the reign of fourteen successive kings, down to Agis the son of Archidamus. As for the appointment of the *ephori*, it was so far from weakening the constitution, that it gave it additional vigour, and though it seemed to be established in favour of the people, it strengthened the aristocracy.[1]

But in the reign of Agis, money found its way into Sparta, and with money came its inseparable attendant—avarice. This was by means of Lysander; who, though himself incapable of being corrupted by money, filled his country with the love of it, and with luxury too. He brought both gold and silver from the wars,[2] and thereby broke through the laws of Lycurgus. While these were in force, Sparta was not so much under the political regulations of a commonwealth, as the strict rules of a philosophic life; and as the poets feign of Hercules, that only with a club and lion's skin he travelled over the world, clearing it of lawless ruffians and cruel tyrants; so the Lacedæmonians with a piece of parchment[3] and coarse coat kept Greece in a voluntary obedience, destroyed usurpation and tyranny in the states, put an end to wars, and laid seditions asleep, very often without either shield or lance, and only by sending one ambassador; to whose directions all parties concerned immediately submitted. Thus bees, when their prince appears, compose their quarrels and unite in one swarm. So much did justice and good government prevail in that state, that I am surprised at those who say, the Lacedæmonians knew indeed how to obey, but not how

1 After all this pompous account, Plutarch himself acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how and where this great man died. That he starved himself is improbable; but that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting, as well as to the current of history.

2 Xenophon acquaints us, that when Lysander had taken Athens, he sent to Sparta many rich spoils and 470 talents of silver. The coming of this huge mass of wealth created great disputes at Sparta. Many celebrated Lysander's praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion: they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of Lycurgus: and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that, in process of time, they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth. The event justified their fears.

3 This was the *scytale*, the nature and use of which Plutarch explains in the life of Lysander. He tells us, that when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness (Thucydides adds, that they were smooth and long); one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer. When they had anything of moment, which they would securely convey to him, they cut a long, narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business on it: when they had written what they had to say, they took off the parchment, and sent it to the general: and he applying it to his own staff, the characters which before were confused and unintelligible, appeared then very plainly.

to govern: and on this occasion quote the saying of king Theopompus, who, when one told him that *Sparta was preserved by the good administration of its kings*, replied, *Nay, rather by the obedience of their subjects.* It is certain that people will not continue pliant to those who know not how to command; but it is the part of a good governor to teach obedience. He who knows how to lead well, is sure to be well followed; and as it is by the art of horsemanship that a horse is made gentle and tractable, so it is by the abilities of him that fills the throne that the people become ductile and submissive. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people did not only endure, but even desired to be their subjects. They asked not of them, either ships, money, or troops, but only a Spartan general. When they had received him, they treated him with the greatest honour and respect; so Gylippus was revered by the Sicilians, Brasidas by the Chalcidians, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaus by all the people of Asia. These, and such as these, wherever they came, were called moderators and reformers, both of the magistrates and people, and Sparta itself was considered as a school of discipline, where the beauty of life and political order were taught in the utmost perfection. Hence Stratonicus seems facetiously enough to have said, that he would order *the Athenians to have the conduct of mysteries and processions; the Eleans to preside in games, as their particular province; and the Lacedæmonians to be beaten, if the other did amiss.*[1] This was spoken in jest; but Antisthenes, one of the scholars of Socrates, said (more seriously) of the Thebans, when he saw them pluming themselves upon their success at Leuctra, *They were just like so many school-boys rejoicing that they had beaten their master.*

It was not, however, the principal design of Lycurgus, that his city should govern many others, but he considered its *happiness* like that of a private man, as *flowing from virtue and self-consistency;* he therefore so ordered and disposed it, that by the freedom and sobriety of its inhabitants, and their having a sufficiency within themselves, its continuance might be the more secure. Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and other writers upon government, have taken Lycurgus for their model: and these have attained great praise, though they left only an idea of something excellent. Yet he, who, not in idea and in words, but in fact produced a most inimitable form of government, and by shewing a whole city of philosophers,[2] confounded those who imagine that the so much talked of strictness of a philosophic life is impracticable; he, I say, stands in the rank of

[1] Because the teachers should be answerable for the faults of their pupils. The pleasantry of the observation seems to be this. That as the Lacedæmonians used to punish the parents or adopters of those young people that behaved amiss; now that they were the instructors of other nations, they should suffer for their faults. Bryan's Latin text has it, that the Lacedæmonians *should beat them*—But there is no joke in that.

[2] Aristotle and Plato differ in this from Plutarch. Even Polybius, who was a great admirer of the Spartan government, allows, that, though the Spartans, considered as individuals, were wise and virtuous, yet in their collective capacity they paid but little regard to justice and moderation.

glory far beyond the founders of all the other Grecian states.[1] Therefore Aristotle is of opinion, that the honours paid him in Lacedæmon were far beneath his merit. Yet those honours were very great, for he has a temple there, and they offer him a yearly sacrifice, as a god. It is also said, that when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck with lightning; a seal of divinity which no other man, however eminent, has had, except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. This was matter of great satisfaction and triumph to the friends of Euripides, that the same thing should befall him after death, which had formerly happened to the most venerable of men, and the most favoured of heaven. Some say, Lycurgus died at Cirrha; but Apollothemis will have it, that he was brought to Elis and died there; and Timæus and Aristoxenus write, that he ended his days in Crete; nay, Aristoxenus adds, that the Cretans shew his tomb at Pergamia, near the high road. We are told he left an only son named Antiorus: and as he died without issue, the family was extinct. His friends and relations observed his anniversary, which subsisted for many ages, and the days on which they met for that purpose they called *Lycurgidæ*. Aristocrates, the son of Hipparchus, relates, that the friends of Lycurgus, with whom he sojourned, and at last died in Crete, burned his body, and, at his request, threw his ashes into the sea. Thus he guarded against the possibility of his remains being brought back to Sparta by the Lacedæmonians, lest they should then think themselves released from their oath, on the pretence that he was returned, and make innovations in the government. This is what we had to say of Lycurgus.

SOLON.

DIDYMUS, the grammarian, in his answer to Asclepiades concerning the laws of Solon, cites the testimony of one Philocles, by which he would prove Solon the son of Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of others that have written of him. For they all with one voice declare that Execestides was his father; a man of moderate fortune and power, but of the noblest family in Athens, being descended from Codrus. His mother, according to Heraclides of Pontus, was cousin-german to the mother of Pisistratus. This tie of kindred at first united Solon and Pisistratus in a very intimate friendship, which was drawn closer (if we may believe some writers) by the regard

1 Solon, though a person of a different temper, was no less disinterested than Lycurgus. He settled the Athenian commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his opposition vain, went into voluntary exile. Lycurgus and Solon were both great men; but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder genius: the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

which the former had for the beauty and excellent qualities of the latter.[1] Hence, we may believe it was, that when they differed afterwards about matters of state, this dissension broke not out into any harsh or ungenerous treatment of each other; but their first union kept some hold of their hearts, *some sparks of the flame still remained*, and the tenderness of former friendship was not quite forgotten.

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Solon's father having hurt his fortune,[2] as Hermippus tells us, by indulging his great and munificent spirit, though the son might have been supported by his friends, yet as he was of a family that had long been assisting to others, he was ashamed to accept of assistance himself; and therefore in his younger years applied himself to merchandise. Some, however, say that he travelled rather to gratify his curiosity and extend his knowledge than to raise an estate. For he professed his love of wisdom, and when far advanced in years made this declaration, *I grow old in the pursuit of learning*. He was not too much attached to wealth, as we may gather from the following verses:

The man that boasts of golden stores,
Of fields with fresh'ning herbage green,
I call not happier than the swain
Whose joys a blooming wife endears,
Of grain that loads his bending floors,
Where bounding steeds and herds are seen,
Whose limbs are sound, whose food is plain,
Whose hours a smiling offspring cheers.[3]

Yet in another place he says:

The flow of riches, though desired,
Unjustly let me never gain,
Life's real goods, if well acquired,
Last vengeance follow in their train.

Indeed, a good man, a valuable member of society, should neither set his heart upon superfluities, nor reject the use of what is necessary and convenient. And in those times, as Hesiod informs us, no business was looked upon as a disparagement, nor did any trade cause a disadvantageous distinction. The profession of merchandise was honourable, as it brought home the produce of barbarous

1 Pisistratus was remarkably courteous, affable, and liberal. He had always two or three slaves near him with bags of silver coin: when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any died insolvent, he relieved the one, and buried the others, at his own expense. If he perceived people melancholy, he inquired the cause; and if he found it was proper, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly. Nay, he left even his gardens and orchards open, and the fruit free to the citizens. His looks were easy and sedate, his language soft and modest. In short, if his virtues had been genuine, and not dissembled, with a view to the tyranny of Athens, he would (as Solon told him) have been the best citizen in it.

2 Aristotle reckons Solon himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it. The truth is, that Solon was never rich, it may be, because he was always honest. In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry. And Plato (in *Timæo*) says, that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the History of the Atlantic Island, which he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to revise and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Hesiod, nor any other ancient poet, would have been more famous. It is evident both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a pleasant and agreeable temper. He considered men as men: and keeping both their capacity for virtue, and their proneness to evil in his view, he adapted his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other. His institutions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of Lycurgus are for harshness and forcing human nature.

3 This passage of Solon's, and another below, are now found among the sentences of Theognis.

countries, engaged the friendship of kings, and opened a wide field of knowledge and experience. Nay, some merchants have been founders of great cities; Protus, for instance, *that built Marseilles*, for whom the Gauls about the Rhone had the highest esteem. Thales also, and Hippocrates the mathematician, are said to have had their share in commerce; and *the oil that Plato disposed* of in Egypt[1] defrayed the expense of his travels.

If Solon was too expensive and luxurious in his way of living, and indulged his poetical vein in his description of pleasure too freely for a philosopher, it is imputed to his mercantile life. For as he passed through many and great dangers, he might surely compensate them with a little relaxation and enjoyment. But that he placed himself rather in the class of the poor than the rich, is evident from these lines:

For vice, though PLENTY fills her horn,
Yet never, sure, shall Solon change,
Since virtue lives, and truth shall stand,
And virtue sinks in want and scorn;
His truth for wealth's most easy range!
While wealth eludes the grasping hand.

He seems to have made use of his political talent at first, not for any serious purpose, but only for amusement, and to fill up his hours of leisure; but afterwards he inserted moral sentences, and interwove many political transactions in his poems, not for the sake of recording or remembering them, but sometimes by way of apology for his own administration, and sometimes to exhort, to advise, or to censure the citizens of Athens. Some are of opinion, that he attempted to put his laws too in verse, and they give us this beginning:

Supreme of gods, whose power we first address
This plan to honour and these laws to bless.

Like most of the sages of those times, he cultivated chiefly that part of moral philosophy which treats of civil obligations. His physics were of a very simple and ancient cast, as appears from the following lines:

From cloudy vapours falls the treasur'd snow,
And the fierce hail: from lightening's rapid blaze
Springs the loud thunder—winds disturb the deep,
Than whose unruffled breast, no smoother scene.

Upon the whole, Thales seems to have been the only philosopher who then carried his speculations beyond things in common use, while the rest of the wise men maintained their character by rules for social life.

They are reported to have met at Delphi, and afterwards at Corinth upon the invitation of Periander, who made provision for their entertainment. But what contributed most to their honour was their sending the *tripod* from one to another, with an ambition to outvie each other in modesty. The story is this: When some Coans were drawing a net, certain strangers from Miletus bought

[1] It was usual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judea. It is said in the prophet Hosea (c. xii. v. 1). "Ephraim carrieth oil into Egypt."

the draught unseen. It proved to be a golden tripod, which Helen, as she sailed from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, in compliance with an ancient oracle. A dispute arising at first between the strangers and the fishermen about the tripod, and afterwards extending itself to the states to which they belonged, so as almost to engage them in hostilities, the priestess of Apollo took up the matter, by ordering that the wisest man they could find should have the tripod. And first it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans voluntarily presenting that to one of the Milesians, for which they would have gone to war with them all. Thales declared that Bias was a wiser man than he, so it was brought to him. He sent it to another, as wiser still. After making a farther circuit, it came to Thales the second time. And at last, it was carried from Miletus to Thebes, and dedicated to the Ismenian Apollo. Theophrastus relates, that the tripod was first sent to Bias at Priene, that Bias sent it back again to Thales at Miletus; that so having passed through the hands of the seven, it came round to Bias again, and at last was sent to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This is the most current account; yet some say the present was not a tripod, but a bowl sent by Crœsus; and others, that it was a cup which one Bathycles had left for that purpose.

We have a particular account of a conversation which Solon had with Anacharsis,[1] and of another he had with Thales. Anacharsis went to Solon's house at Athens, knocked at the door, and said, *he was a stranger who desired to enter into engagements of friendship and mutual hospitality with him.* Solon answered, *Friendships are best formed at home. Then do you*, said Anacharsis, *who are at home, make me your friend, and receive me into your house.* Struck with the quickness of his repartee, Solon gave him a kind welcome, and kept him some time with him, being then employed in public affairs, and in modelling his laws. When Anacharsis knew what Solon was about, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the absurdity of imagining he could restrain the avarice and injustice of his citizens by *written laws, which in all respects resembled spiders' webs, and would, like them, only entangle and hold the poor and weak, while the rich and powerful easily broke through them.* To this, Solon replied, *Men keep their agreements when it is an advantage to both parties not to break them; and he would so frame his laws, as to make it evident to the Athenians, that it would be more for their interest to observe than to transgress them.* The event, however, shewed that Anacharsis was nearer the truth in his

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1 The Scythians long before the days of Solon, had been celebrated for their frugality, their temperance, and justice. Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and a prince of the blood. He went to Athens about the forty-seventh olympiad, *i. e.*, 600 years B.C. His good sense, his knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. But the greatest and wisest men have their inconsistencies: for such it certainly was, for Anacharsis to carry the Grecian worship, the rites of Cybele, into Scythia, contrary to the laws of his country. Though he performed those rites privately in a woody part of the country, a Scythian happened to see him, and acquainted the king with it, who came immediately, and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. HERODOT. l. iv. c. 76.

conjecture, than Solon was in his hope. Anacharsis having seen an assembly of the people at Athens, said, *he was surprised at this, that in Greece wise men pleaded causes, and fools determined them.*

When Solon was entertained by Thales at Miletus, he expressed some wonder that *he did not marry and raise a family.* To this, Thales gave no immediate answer: but some days after, he instructed a stranger to say, that *he came from Athens ten days before.* Solon inquiring, *What news there was at Athens,* the man, according to his instructions, said, *None, except the funeral of a young man, which was attended by the whole city. For he was the son (as they told me) of a person of great honour, and of the highest reputation for virtue, who was then abroad upon his travels. What a miserable man is he,* said Solon: *but what was his name? I have heard his name,* answered the stranger, *but do not recollect it. All I remember is, that there was much talk of his wisdom and justice.* Solon, whose apprehensions increased with every reply, was now much disconcerted, and mentioned his own name, asking, *Whether it was not Solon's son that was dead?* The stranger answering in the affirmative, he began to beat his head, and to do and say such things as are usual to men in a transport of grief.[1] Then Thales, taking him by the hand, said with a smile, *These things which strike down so firm a man as Solon, kept me from marriage and from having children. But, take courage, my good friend, for not a word of what has been told you is true.* Hermippus says, that he took this story from Pataecus, who used to boast he had the soul of Æsop.

But to neglect the procuring of what is necessary or convenient in life for fear of using it, would be acting a very mean and absurd part; by the same rule a man might refuse the enjoyment of riches, or honour, or wisdom, because it is possible for him to be deprived of them. Even the excellent qualities of the mind, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world we see destroyed by poisonous drugs, or by the violence of some disease. Nay, Thales himself could not be secure from fears by living single, unless he would renounce all interest in his friends, his relations, and his country. Instead of that, however, he is said to have adopted his sister's son, named Cybisthus. Indeed, the soul has not only a principle of sense, of understanding, of memory, but of love; and when it has nothing at home to fix its affection upon, it unites itself and cleaves to something abroad. Strangers, or persons of spurious birth, often insinuate themselves into such a man's heart, as into a house or land that has no lawful heirs, and together with love, bring a train of cares and apprehensions for them. It was not uncommon to hear persons of a morose temper, who talk against marriage and a family, uttering the most abject complaints when a child which they have had by a slave or a concubine, happens to sicken or die. Nay, some have expressed a very great regret upon the death

1 Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain. Solon being desired not to weep since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense. "And for this cause I weep."

of dogs and horses; whilst others have borne the loss of valuable children without any affliction, or at least without any indecent sorrow, and have passed the rest of their days with calmness and composure. It is certainly weakness not affection, which brings infinite troubles and fears upon men who are not fortified by reason against the power of fortune; who have no enjoyment of a present good, because of their apprehensions, and the real anguish they find in considering that in time they may be deprived of it. No man, surely, should take refuge in poverty to guard against the loss of an estate; nor remain in the unsocial state of celibacy, that he may have neither friends nor children to lose; he should be armed by reason against all events.

When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war against the Megarensians for the isle of Salamis, made a law that no one for the future, under the pain of death should, either by speech or writing, propose that the city should assert its claim to that island, Solon was very uneasy at so dishonourable a decree, and seeing great part of the youth desirous to begin the war again, being restrained from it only by fear of the law, he feigned himself insane;[1] and a report spread from his house into the city that he was out of his senses. Privately, however, he had composed an elegy and got it by heart in order to repeat it in public. Thus prepared, he sallied out unexpectedly into the market-place with a cap upon his head.[2] A great number of people flocking about him there, he got upon the herald's stone and sung the elegy, which begins thus:

Hear and attend: from Salamis I came, To show your error.

This composition is entitled *Salamis*, and consists of 100 very beautiful lines. When Solon had done, his friends began to express their admiration, and Pisistratus in particular, exerted himself in persuading the people to comply with his directions, whereupon they repealed the law, once more undertook the war, and invested Solon with the command. The common account of his proceedings is this: He sailed with Pisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Ceres there, he sent a trusty person to Salamis who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they had a mind to seize the principal Athenian matrons, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians readily embracing the proposal, and sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island, and causing the women directly to withdraw, ordered a number of young men whose faces were yet smooth, to dress themselves in their habits, caps, and shoes. Thus, with weapons concealed under their clothes, they were to dance and play by the sea-side till the enemy were landed, and the vessel near

[1] When the Athenians were delivered from their fears by the death of Epaminondas, they began to squander away upon shows and plays the money that had been assigned for the pay of the army and navy, and at the same time they made it death for any one to propose a reformation. In that case, Demosthenes did not, like Solon, attack their error under a pretence of insanity, but boldly and resolutely spoke against it, and by the force of his eloquence brought them to correct it.

[2] None wore caps but the sick.

enough to be seized. Matters being thus ordered, the Megarensians were deceived with the appearance, and ran confusedly on shore, striving which should first lay hold on the women. But they met with so warm a reception that they were cut off to a man, and the Athenians embarking immediately for Salamis, took possession of the island.

Others deny that it was recovered in this manner, and tell us that Apollo, being first consulted at Delphi, gave this answer:

> Go, first propitiate the country's chiefs
> Hid in Asopus' lap, who, when interr'd, Fac'd the declining sun.

Upon this, Solon crossed the sea by night and offered sacrifices in Salamis, to the heroes Periphemus and Cichreus. Then taking 500 Athenian volunteers, who had obtained a decree that if they conquered the island the government of it should be invested in them, he sailed with a number of fishing-vessels and one galley of thirty oars for Salamis, where he cast anchor at a point which looks towards Eubœa.

The Mergarensians that were in the place, having heard a confused report of what had happened, betook themselves in a disorderly manner to arms, and sent a ship to discover the enemy. As the ship approached too near, Solon took it, and securing the crew, put in their place some of the bravest of the Athenians, with orders to make the best of their way to the city, as privately as possible. In the meantime, with the rest of his men, he attacked the Megarensians by land; and while these were engaged, those from the ship took the city. A custom which prevailed afterwards, seems to bear witness to the truth of this account. For an Athenian ship, once a year, passed silently to Salamis, and the inhabitants coming down upon it with noise and tumult, one man in armour leaped ashore, and ran shouting towards the promontory of Sciradium, to meet those that were advancing by land. Near that place is a temple of Mars, erected by Solon; for there it was that he defeated the Megarensians, and dismissed, upon certain conditions, such as were not slain in battle.

However, the people of Megara persisted in their claim till both sides had severely felt the calamities of war, and then they referred the affair to the decision of the Lacedæmonians. Many authors relate that Solon availed himself of a passage in Homer's catalogue of ships, which he alleged before the arbitrators, dexterously inserting a line of his own; for to this verse,

> Ajax from Salamis twelve ships commands,

he is said to have added,

> And ranks his forces with the Athenian power [1]

But the Athenians look upon this as an idle story, and tell us, that Solon made it appear to the judges, that Philæus and Eurysaces, sons of Ajax, being admitted by the Athenians to the freedom of their city, gave up the island to them, and removed, the one to

[1] This line could be no sufficient evidence; for there are many passages in Homer which prove that the ships of Ajax were stationed near the Thessalians.

Brauron, and the other to Melite in Attica: likewise, that the tribe of the Philaidæ, of which Pisistratus was, had its name from that Philæus. He brought another argument against the Megarensians, from the manner of burying in Salamis, which was agreeable to the custom of Athens, and not to that of Megara; for the Megarensians inter the dead with their faces to the east, and the Athenians turn theirs to the west. On the other hand, Hereas of Megara insists, that the Megarensians likewise turn the faces of the dead to the west; and, what is more, that, like the people of Salamis, they put 3 or 4 corpses in one tomb, whereas the Athenians have a separate tomb for each. But Solon's cause was farther assisted by certain oracles of Apollo, in which the Island was called *Ionian* Salamis. This matter was determined by five Spartans; Critolaides, Amonpharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

Solon acquired considerable honour and authority in Athens by this affair; but he was much more celebrated among the Greeks in general, for negotiating succours for the temple of Delphi, against the insolent and injurious behaviour of the Cirrhæans,[1] and persuading the Greeks to arm for the honour of the God. At his motion it was that the *Amphictyons* declared war; as Aristotle, among others, testifies, in his book concerning the Pythian games, where he attributes that decree to Solon. He was not, however, appointed general in that war, as Hermippus relates from Euanthes the Samian. For Æschines the orator says no such thing; and we find in the records of Delphi, that Alcmæon, not Solon, commanded the Athenians on that occasion.

The execrable proceedings against the accomplices of Cylon[2] had

1 The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town seated in the bay of Corinth, after having by repeated incursions wasted the territory of Delphi, besieged the city itself, from a desire of making themselves masters of the riches contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this being sent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the states general of Greece, Solon advised that this matter should be universally resented. Accordingly, Clysthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was sent commander in chief against the Cirrhæans; Alcmæon was general of the Athenian quota; and Solon went as counsailer or assistant to Clysthenes. When the Greek army had besieged Cirrha some time without any great appearance of success, Apollo was consulted, who answered, that they should not be able to reduce the place, till the waves of the Cirrhæan sea washed the territories of Delphi. This answer struck the army with surprise, from which Solon extricated them by advising Clysthenes to consecrate the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo, whence it would follow that the sea must wash the sacred coast. Pausanias (in *Phocicis*) mentions another stratagem, which was not worthy of the justice of Solon. Cirrha, however, was taken, and became henceforth the arsenal of Delphi.

2 There was, for a long time after the democracy took place, a strong party against it, who left no measures untried, in order, if possible, to restore their ancient form of government. Cylon, a man of quality, and son-in-law to Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, replied at the sudden change of the magistrates, and hated the thoughts of asking that as a favour, which he apprehended to be due to his birthright. He formed, however, a design to seize the citadel, which he put in practice in the forty-fifth olympiad, when many of the citizens were gone to the olympic games. Megacles, who was at that time chief archon, with the other magistrates and the whole power of Athens, immediately besieged the conspirators there, and reduced them to such distress, that Cylon and his brother fled, and left the meaner sort to shift for themselves. Such as escaped the sword, took refuge in Minerva's temple; and though they deserved death for conspiring against the government, yet, as the magistrates put them to death in breach of the privilege of sanctuary, they brought upon themselves the indignation of the superstitious Athenians, who deemed such a breach a greater crime than treason.

long occasioned great troubles in the Athenian state. The conspirators had taken sanctuary in Minerva's temple; but Megacles, then Archon, persuaded them to quit it, and stand trial, under the notion that if they tied a thread to the shrine of the goddess, and kept hold of it, they would still be under her protection. But when they came over against the temple of the furies, the thread broke of itself; upon which Megacles and his colleagues rushed upon them and seized them, as if they had lost their privilege. Such as were out of the temple were stoned; those that fled to the altars were cut in pieces there; and they only were spared who made application to the wives of the magistrates. From that time those magistrates were called *execrable*, and became objects of the public hatred. The remains of Cylon's faction afterwards recovered strength, and kept up the quarrel with the descendants of Megacles. The dispute was greater than ever, and the two parties more exasperated, when Solon, whose authority was now very great, and others of the principal Athenians, interposed, and by entreaties and arguments persuaded the persons called *execrable* to submit to justice and a fair trial, before 300 judges selected from the nobility. Myron, of the *Phylesian* ward, carried on the impeachment, and they were condemned; as many as were alive were driven into exile, and the bodies of the dead dug up and cast out beyond the borders of Attica. Amidst these disturbances, the Megarensians renewed the war, took Nisæthe from the Athenians, and recovered Salamis once more.

About this time the city was likewise afflicted with superstitious fears and strange appearances; and the soothsayers declared that there were certain abominable crimes which wanted expiation, pointed out by the entrails of the victims. Upon this they sent to Crete for Epimenides the *Phæstian*,[1] who is reckoned the seventh among the wise men, by those that do not admit Periander into the number. He was reputed a man of great piety, beloved by the gods, and skilled in matters of religion, particularly in what related to inspiration and the sacred mysteries: therefore the men of those days called him the son of the nymph Balte, and one of the *Curetes* revived. When he arrived at Athens, he contracted a friendship with Solon, and privately gave him considerable assistance, preparing the way for the reception of his laws. For he taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by intermixing certain sacrifices with the funeral solemnities, and abolishing the cruel and barbarous customs that

[1] This Epimenides was a very extraordinary person. Diogenes Laertius tells us, that he was "the inventor of the art of lustrating or purifying houses, fields, and persons;" which, if spoken of Greece, may be true; but Moses had long before taught the Hebrews something of this nature (Lev. xvi.) Epimenides took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the Areopagus, and turning them loose, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they crouched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all those places, to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. There were, however, other ceremonies practised for the purpose of lustration, of which Tzetzes, in his poetical chronicle, gives a particular account, but which are too trifling to be mentioned here.

had generally prevailed among the women before. What is of still greater consequence, by expiations, lustrations, and the erecting of temples and shrines, he hallowed and purified the city, and made the people more observant of justice, and more inclined to union.

When he had seen Munichia, and considered it some time, he is reported to have said to those about him,[1] *How blind is man to futurity! If the Athenians could foresee what trouble that place will give them, they would tear it in pieces with their teeth, rather than it should stand.* Something similar to this is related of Thales; for he ordered the Milesians to bury him in a certain refuse and neglected place, and foretold, at the same time, that their market-place would one day stand there. As for Epimenides, he was held in admiration at Athens; great honours were paid him, and many valuable presents made; yet he would accept of nothing but a branch of the sacred olive, which they gave him at his request, and with that he departed.

When the troubles about Cylon's affair were over, and the sacrilegious persons removed, the Athenians relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government; for there were as many parties among them as there were different tracts of land in their country. The inhabitants of the mountainous part were, it seems, for a democracy; those of the plains, for an oligarchy; and those of the sea coast contending for a mixed kind of government, hindered the other two from gaining their point. At the same time, the inequality between the poor and the rich occasioned the greatest discord, and the state was in so dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no way to quell the seditious, or to save it from ruin, but changing it to a monarchy. So greatly were the poor in debt to the rich, that they were obliged either to pay them a sixth part of the produce of the land (whence they were called *Hectemori* and *Thetes*) or *else to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment. Some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Nay, some parents were forced to sell their own children (for no law forbade it)*, and to quit the city, to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers; but the greater number, and men of the most spirit agreed to stand by each other, and to bear such impositions no longer. They determined to choose a trusty person for their leader to deliver those who had failed in their time of payment, to divide the land, and to give an entire new face to the commonwealth.

Then the most prudent of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, as a man least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor. Him, therefore, they entreated to assist the

1 This prediction was fulfilled 270 years after, when Antipater constrained the Athenians to admit his garrison into that place. Besides this prophecy, Epimenides uttered another during his stay at Athens; for hearing that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the Persian power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy, for that the Persians would not for many years attempt any thing against the Greeks, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they thought to destroy.

public in this exigency, and to compose these differences. Phanias the Lesbian asserts, indeed, that Solon, to save the state, dealt artfully with both parties, and privately promised the poor a division of the lands, and the rich a confirmation of their securities. At first he was loath to take the administration upon him, by reason of the avarice of some and the insolence of others; but was, however, chosen archon next after Philombrotus, and at the same time arbitrator and lawgiver; the rich accepting of him readily, as one of *them*, and the poor, as a good and worthy man. They tell us, too, that a saying of his, which he had let fall some time before, that *equality causes no war*, was then much repeated, and pleased both the rich and the poor; the latter expecting to come to a balance by their numbers and by the measure of divided lands, and the former to preserve an equality at least, by their dignity and power. Thus both parties being in great hopes, the heads of them were urgent with Solon to make Himself king, and endeavour to persuade him, that he might with better assurance take upon him the direction of a city where he had the supreme authority. Nay, many of the citizens that leaned to neither party, seeing the intended change difficult to be effected by reason and law, were not against the entrusting of the government to the hands of one wise and just man. Some, moreover, acquaint us that he received this oracle from Apollo,—

> Seize, seize the helm: the reeling vessel guide:
> With aiding patriots stem the raging tide.

His friends, in particular, told him it would appear that he wanted courage, if he rejected the monarchy for fear of the name of tyrant; as if the sole and supreme power would not soon become a lawful sovereignty through the virtues of him that received it. Thus formerly (said they), the Eubœans set up Tynnondas, and lately the Mitylenæans Pittacus for their prince.[1] None of these things moved Solon for this purpose, and the answer he is said to have given his friends is this, *Absolute monarchy is a fair field, but it has no outlet.* And in one of his poems he thus addresses himself to his friend Phocus:

> If I spar'd my country,
> If gilded violence and tyrannic sway
> Could never charm me; thence no shame accrues:
> Still the mild honour of my name I boast,
> And find my empire there.——

Whence it is evident that his reputation was very great before he appeared in the character of a legislator. As for the ridicule he was exposed to for rejecting kingly power, he has described it in the following verses:

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1 Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, made himself master of Mitylene; for which Alcæus, who was of the same town, contemporary with Pittacus, and, as a poet, a friend of liberty, miltriued him, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus disregarded his censures, and having by his authority quelled the seditions of his citizens, and established peace and harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his power, and restored his country to its liberty.

Nor wisdom's palm, nor deep laid policy
Can Solon boast. For when its noblest blessings
Heaven pour'd into his lap, he spurn'd them from him.
Where was his sense and spirit, when enclosed
He found the choicest prey, nor deign'd to draw it?
Who to command fair Athens but one day,
Would not himself, with all his race, have fallen
Contented on the morrow?

Thus he has introduced the multitude and men of low minds, as discoursing about him. But though he rejected absolute power, he proceeded with spirit enough in the administration; he did not make any concessions in behalf of the powerful, nor, in the framing of his laws did he indulge the humour of his constituents. Where the former establishment was tolerable, he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife, lest he should put the whole in disorder, and not have power to settle or compose it afterwards in the temperature he could wish. He only made such alterations as he might bring the people to acquiesce in by persuasions, or compel them to by his authority, making (as he says) *force and right conspire.* Hence it was, that having the question afterwards put to him, *Whether he had provided the best of laws for the Athenians,* he answered, *The best they were capable of receiving.* And as the moderns observe, that the Athenians used to qualify the harshness of things by giving them softer and politer names, calling whores *mistresses,* tributes *contributions,* garrisons *guards,* and prisons *castles*; so Solon seems to be the first that distinguished the *cancelling of debts* by the name of a *discharge. For this was the first of his public acts, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man, for the future, should take the body of his debtor for security.* Though Androtion and some others say that it was not by the cancelling of debts, but by moderating the interest, that the poor were relieved, they thought themselves so happy in it, that they gave the name of *discharge* to this act of humanity, as well as to the enlarging of measures and the value of money, which went along with it. For he ordered the *minæ,* which before went but for 73 *drachmas,* to go for 100; so that, as they paid the same in value, but much less in weight, those that had great sums to pay were relieved, while such as received them were no losers.

The greater part of writers, however, affirm, that it was the abolition of past securities that was called a *discharge,* and with these the poems of Solon agree. For in them he values himself on *having taken away the marks of mortgaged land,*[1] *which before were almost everywhere set up, and made free those fields which before were bound,* and not only so, but *of such citizens as were seizable by their creditors for debt, some,* he tells us, *he had brought back from other countries, where they had wandered so long that they had forgot the Attic dialect, and others he had set at liberty who had experienced a cruel slavery at home.*

This affair, indeed, brought upon him the greatest trouble he met

1 The Athenians fixed up billets to show that houses or lands were mortgaged.

with; For when he undertook the annulling of debts, and was considering of a suitable speech and a proper method of introducing the business, he told some of his most intimate friends, namely, Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, that he intended only to abolish the debts, and not to meddle with the lands. These friends of his hastening to make their advantage of the secret, before the decree took place, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estates with them. Afterwards, when the decree was published, they kept their possessions without paying the money they had taken up; which brought great reflections upon Solon, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were rather an accomplice in the fraud. This charge, however, was soon removed, by his being the first to comply with the law, and remitting a debt of five talents, which he had out at interest. Others, among whom is Polyzelus the Rhodian, say it was fifteen talents. But his friends went by the name of *Chreocopidæ* or *debt-cutters* ever after.

The method he took satisfied neither the poor nor the rich. The latter were displeased by the cancelling of their bonds; and the former at not finding a division of lands; upon this they had fixed their hopes, and they complained that he had not, like Lycurgus, made all the citizens equal in estate. Lycurgus, however, being the eleventh from Hercules, and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon, had acquired great authority, interest, and friends, of which he knew very well how to avail himself in setting up a new form of government. Yet he was obliged to have recourse to force rather than persuasion, and had an eye struck out in the dispute, before he could bring it to a lasting settlement, and establish such an union and equality, as left neither rich nor poor in the city. On the other hand, Solon's estate was but moderate, not superior to that of some commoners, and therefore he attempted not to erect such a commonwealth as that of Lycurgus, considering it as out of his power: he proceeded as far as he thought he could be supported by the confidence the people had in his probity and wisdom.

That he answered not the expectations of the generality, but offended them by falling short, appears from these verses of his—

> Those eyes with joy once sparkling when they view'd me,
> With cold, oblique regard behold me now.

And a little after—

> —— Yet who but Solon
> Could have spoke peace to their tumultuous waves,
> And not have sunk beneath them?

But being soon sensible of the utility of the decree, they laid aside their complaints, offered a public sacrifice, which they called *seisactheia*, or the sacrifice of the *discharge*, and constituted Solon lawgiver and superintendent of the commonwealth; committing to him the regulation not of a part only, but the whole magistracies, assemblies, courts of judicature, and senate; and leaving him to determine the qualification, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions at his pleasure.

First then, he repealed the laws of Draco,[1] except those concerning murder, because of the severity of the punishments they appointed, which for almost all offences were capital; even those that were convicted of idleness were to suffer death, and such as stole only a few apples or pot-herbs, were to be punished in the same manner as sacrilegious persons and murderers. Hence a saying of Demades, who lived long after, was much admired, that *Draco wrote his laws, not with ink, but with blood.* And he himself being asked, *Why he made death the punishment for most offences,* answered, *Small ones deserve it, and I can find no greater for the most heinous.*

In the next place, Solon took an estimate of the estates of the citizens, intending to leave the great offices in the hands of the rich, but to give the rest of the people a share in other departments which they had not before. Such as had a yearly income of 500 measures in wet and dry goods, he placed in the first rank, and called them *Pentacosiomedimni.*[2] The second consisted of those that could keep a horse, or whose lands produced 300 measures; these were of the *equestrian* order, and called *Hippodatelountes.* And those of the third class, who had but 200 measures, were called *Zeugita.* The rest were named *Thetes,* and not admitted to any office; they had only a right to appear and give their vote in the general assembly of the people. This seemed at first but a slight privilege, but afterwards showed itself a matter of great importance, for most causes came at last to be decided by them; and in such matters as were under the cognizance of the magistrates there lay an appeal to the people. Besides, he is said to have drawn up his laws in an obscure and ambiguous manner, on purpose to enlarge the authority of the popular tribunal. For as they could not adjust their difference by the letter of the law, they were obliged to have recourse to living judges: I mean the whole body of citizens, who therefore had all controversies brought before them, and were in a manner superior

[1] Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last year of the thirty-ninth olympiad about B. C. 623. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we nowhere find so much as ten lines together concerning him and his institutions. He may be considered as the first legislator of the Athenians; for the laws, or rather precepts, of Triptolemus were very few, viz., "Honour your parents; worship the gods; hurt not animals;" Draco was the first of the Greeks that punished adultery with death; and he esteemed murder so high a crime; that to imprint a deep abhorrence of it in the minds of men, he ordained that process should be carried on even against the inanimate things, if they accidentally caused the death of any person. But besides murder and adultery, which deserved death, he made a number of small offences capital; and that brought almost all his laws into disuse. The extravagant severity of them like an edge too finely ground, blunted his *thesmoi*, as he called them, from striking deep. Porphyry (*de abstinent*) has preserved one of them concerning divine worship. "It is an everlasting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worshipped, and the heroes also, according to the customs of our ancestors, and in private only with a proper address, first fruits, and annual libations."

[2] The *Pentacosiomedimni* paid a talent to the public treasury: the *Hippodatelountes*, as the word signifies, were obliged to find a horse, and to serve as cavalry in the wars; the *Zeugita* were so called, as being a middle rank between the knights and those of the lowest order (for rowers who have the middle bench between the Thalamites and the Thranites, are called *Zeugitæ*;) and though the *Thetes* had barely each a vote in the general assemblies, yet that appeared in time to be a great privilege, most causes being brought by appeal before the people.

to the laws. Of this equality he himself takes notice in these words,

> By me the people held their native rights
> Uninjur'd, unoppress'd—The great restrain'd
> From lawless violence, and the poor from rapine
> By me, their mutual shield——

Desirous yet further to strengthen the common people, he empowered any man whatever to enter an action for one that was injured. If a person was assaulted or suffered damage or violence, another that was able and willing to do it might prosecute the offender. Thus the lawgiver wisely accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and to resent one another's injuries. And we are told of a saying of his agreeable to this law: being asked, *What city was best modelled?* he answered, *That, where those who are not injured are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are.*

When these points were adjusted, he established the council of the *areopagus*,[1] which was to consist of such as had borne the office of *archon*,[2] and himself was one of the number. But observing that the people now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council or senate of 400,[3] 100 out of each tribe, by whom all affairs were to be previously considered, and ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly. In the meantime, the high court of the *areopagus* were to be the inspectors and guardians of the laws. Thus he supposed the commonwealth, secured by two councils as by two anchors, would be less liable to be shaken by tumults, and the people would become more orderly and peaceable. Most writers affirm that the council of the *areopagus* was of Solon's

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1 The court of *areopagus*, though settled long before, had lost much of its power by Draco's preferring the ephetæ. In ancient times, and till Solon became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity: but Solon made it a rule that such only should have a seat in it as had borne the office of *archon*. This had the effect he designed, it raised the reputation of the *areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees so venerable, that none contested or repined at them through a long course of ages.

2 After the extinction of the race of the Medontidæ, the Athenians made the office of *archon* annual; and instead of one, they created nine archons. By the latter expedient, they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former they took away all apprehensions of the archons setting up for sovereigns. In one word, they attained now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates dependent on the people. This remarkable era of the completion of the Athenian democracy was, according to the *Marmora*, in the first year of the xxivth olympiad, B.C. 684. That these magistrates might, however, retain sufficient authority and dignity, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The first was styled by way of eminence *the archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The second was called *Basileus*, that is *king*; for they chose to have that title considered as a secondary one. This officer had the care of religion. The third had the name of *Polemarch*, for war was his particular province. The other six had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, and were considered as the guardians of their laws. These *archons* continued till the time of the emperor Gallienus.

3 The number of tribes was increased by Calisthenes to ten, after he had driven out the Pisistratidæ; and then this senate consisted of 500, 50 being chosen out of each tribe. Towards the close of the year the president of each tribe gave in a list of candidates, out of whom the senators were elected by lot. The senators then appointed the officers called *prytanes*. The *prytanes*, while the senate consisted of 500, were 50 in number; and, for the avoiding of confusion, ten of these presided a week, during which space they were called *proedri*, and out of them an *epistates* or president was chosen, whose office lasted but one day.

appointing, and it seems greatly to confirm their assertion, that Draco has made no mention of the *areopagites*, but in capital causes constantly addresses himself to the *ephetæ:* yet the eighth law of Solon's thirteenth table is set down in these very words—*Whoever were declared infamous before Solon's archonship, let them be restored in honour, except such as having been condemned in the areopagus, or by the ephetæ, or by the kings in the Prytaneum, for murder or robbery, or attempting to usurp the government, had fled their country before this law was made.* This, on the contrary, shows that before Solon was chief magistrate and delivered his laws, the council of the *areopagus* was in being. For who could have been condemned in the *areopagus* before Solon's time, if he was the first that erected it into a court of judicature? Unless, perhaps, there be some obscurity or deficiency in the text, and the meaning be, that such as have been convicted of crimes that are now cognizable before the *areopagites*, the *ephetæ*,[1] and *prytanes*, shall continue infamous, whilst others are restored.

The most peculiar and surprising of his other laws, is that which *declares the man infamous who stands neuter in the time of sedition*.[2] It seems he would not have us be indifferent and unaffected with the fate of the public, when our own concerns are upon a safe bottom; nor when we are in health, be insensible to the distempers and griefs of our country. He would have us espouse the better and juster cause, and hazard everything in defence of it, rather than wait in safety to see which side the victory will incline to. That law too seems quite ridiculous and absurd, which permits a rich heiress, whose husband happens to be impotent, to console herself with his nearest relations. Yet some say this law was very properly levelled against those who, conscious of their own inability, match with heiresses for the sake of the portion, and under colour of the law do violence to nature. For when they know that such heiresses may make choice of others to grant their favours to, they will either let those matches alone, or if they do marry in that manner, they must suffer the shame of their avarice and dishonesty. It is right that the heiress should not have liberty to choose at large, but only amongst her husband's relations, that the child which is born may at least belong to his kindred and family. Agreeable to this is the direction, that the bride and bridegroom should be shut up together,

[1] The *ephetæ* were first appointed in the reign of Demophon, the son of Theseus, for the trying of wilful murders and cases of manslaughter. They consisted at first of 50 Athenians and as many Argives; but Draco excluded the Argives, and ordered that it should be composed of 51 Athenians, who were all to be turned of 50 years of age. He also fixed their authority above that of the areopagite; but Solon brought them under that court, and limited their jurisdiction.

[2] Aulus Gellius, who has preserved the very words of this law, adds, that one who so stood neuter, should lose his houses, his country, and estate, and be sent out an exile. *Noct. Attic.* l. ii. c. 12. Plutarch in another place condemns this law, but Gellius highly commends it, and assigns this reason—The wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some side, matters were easily accommodated; whereas if the latter only, as is generally the case with other cities, had the management of factions, they would, for private reasons, be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not to the utter ruin of the state.

and eat of the same quince;[1] and that the husband of an heiress should approach her at least three times in a month. For, though they may happen not to have children, yet it is a mark of honour and regard due from a man to the chastity of his wife: it removes many uneasinesses, and prevents differences from proceeding to an absolute breach.

In all other marriages he ordered that no dowries should be given: the bride was to bring with her only three suits of clothes and some household stuff of small value.[2] For he did not choose that marriages should be made with mercenary or venal views, but would have that union cemented by the endearment of children, and every other instance of love and friendship. Nay, Dionysius himself, when his mother desired to be married to a young Syracusan, told her, *He had, indeed, by his tyranny, broke through the laws of his country, but he could not break those of nature, by countenancing so disportioned a match.* And surely such disorders should not be tolerated in any state, nor such matches where there is no equality of years or inducements of love, or probability that the end of marriage will be answered. So that to an old man who marries a young woman, some prudent magistrate or lawgiver might express himself in the words addressed to Philoctetes—

Poor soul! how fit art thou to marry!

And if he found a young man in the house of a rich old woman, like a partridge growing fat in his private services, he would remove him to some young virgin who wanted a husband.

That law of Solon's is also justly commended which *forbids men to speak ill of the dead.* For piety requires us to consider the deceased as sacred; justice calls upon us to spare those that are not in being, and good policy to prevent the perpetuating of hatred. He forbade his people also to revile the living in a temple, in a court of justice, in the great assembly of the people, or at the public games. He that offended in this respect, was to pay three *drachmas* to the persons injured, and two to the public. Never to restrain anger is, indeed, a proof of weakness or want of breeding, and always to guard against it very difficult, and to some persons impossible. Now, what is enjoined by law should be practicable, if the legislator desires to punish a few to some good purpose, and not many to no purpose.

His law concerning wills has likewise its merit. For before his time the Athenians were not allowed to dispose of their estates by will; the houses and other substance of the deceased were to remain among his relations. But he permitted any one that had not children, to leave his possessions to whom he pleased; thus preferring the tie of friendship to that of kindred, and choice to necessity, *he gave every man the full and free disposal of his own.* Yet he

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[1] The eating of the quince, which was not peculiar to an heiress and her husband (for all new married people eat it), implied that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet.

[2] The bride brought with her an earthen pan called *Phrygetron*, wherein barley was parched; to signify that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family.

allowed not all sorts of legacies, but those only that were not extorted by frenzy, the consequence of disease or poisons, by imprisonment or violence, or the persuasions of a wife. For he considered inducements that operated against reason, as no better than force; to be deceived was with *him* the same thing as to be compelled; and he looked upon pleasure to be as great a perverter as pain.[1]

He regulated, moreover, the journeys of women, their mourning and sacrifices, and endeavoured to keep them clear of all disorder and excess. They were not to go out of town with more than three habits; the provisions they carried with them, were not to exceed the value of an *obolus;* their basket was not to be above a cubit high; and in the night they were not to travel but in a carriage with a torch before them. At funerals they were forbid to tear themselves,[2] and no hired mourner was to utter lamentable notes, or to act anything else that tended to excite sorrow. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox on those occasions; or to bury more than three garments with the body; or to visit any tombs besides those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these things are likewise forbidden by our laws, with the addition of this circumstance, that those who offend in such a manner are fined by the censors of the women as giving way to weak passions and childish sorrow.

As the city was filled with persons who assembled from all parts on account of the great security in which people lived in Attica, Solon observing this, and that the country withal was poor and barren, and that merchants who traffic by sea do not use to import their goods where they can have nothing in exchange, turned the attention of the citizens to manufactures. For this purpose he made a law, *that no son should be obliged to maintain his father, if he had not taught him a trade.*[3] As for Lycurgus, whose city was clear of strangers, and whose country, according to Euripides, was sufficient for twice the number of inhabitants, where there was, moreover, a multitude of *Helotes*, who were not only to be kept constantly employed, but to be humbled and worn out by servitude, it was right for him to set the citizens free from laborious and mechanic arts, and to employ them in arms, as the only art fit for them to learn and exercise. But Solon, rather adapting his laws to the state of his country, than his country to his laws, and perceiving that the

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[1] He likewise ordained that adopted persons should make no will, but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted; or if they continued in it to their death, the estates reverted to the relations of the persons who adopted them.—Demosth. in *Orat. Leptin.*

[2] Demosthenes (in *Timocr.*) recites Solon's directions as to funerals as follows: "Let the dead bodies be laid out in the house, according as the deceased gave order, and the day following before sunrise carried forth. Whilst the body is carrying to the grave let the men go before, the women follow. It shall not be lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave, under 40 years of age, except such as are within the degrees of cousins."

[3] He that was thrice convicted of idleness, was to be declared *infamous*. Herodotus (l. vii.) and Diodorus Siculus (l. i.) agree that a law of this kind was in use in Egypt. It is probable therefore that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them.

soil of Attica, which hardly rewarded the husbandman's labour, was far from being capable of maintaining a lazy multitude, ordered that trades should be accounted honourable; that the council of the *areopagus* should examine into every man's means of subsisting, and chastise the idle.

But that law was more rigid, which (as Heraclides of Pontus informs us) *excused bastards from relieving their fathers.* Nevertheless, the man that disregards so honourable a state as marriage does not take a woman for the sake of children, but merely to indulge his appetite. He has therefore his reward; and there remains no pretence for him to upbraid those children whose very birth he has made a reproach to them.

In truth, his laws concerning women in general, appear very absurd. For he permitted any one to kill an adulturer taken in the fact;[1] but if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he was only to be fined 100 drachmas; if he gained his purpose by persuasion, 20; but prostitutes were excepted because they have their price. And he would not allow them to sell a daughter or sister, unless she were taken in an act of dishonour before marriage. But to punish the same fault sometimes in a severe and rigorous manner, and sometimes lightly, and as it were in sport, with a trivial fine, is not agreeable to reason, unless the scarcity of money in Athens at that time, made a pecuniary mulct a heavy one. And indeed, in the valuation of things for the sacrifice, a sheep and a *medimnus* of corn were reckoned each at a *drachma* only. To the victor in the Isthmean games, he appointed a reward of 100 *drachmas;* and to the victor in the Olympian, 500.[2] He that caught a he-wolf was to have *5 drachmas;* he that took a she-wolf, one; and the former sum (as Demetrius Phalereus asserts) was the value of an ox, the latter of a sheep. Though the prices which he fixes in his 16th table for select victims were probably much higher than the common, yet they are small in comparison of the present. The Athenians of old were great enemies to wolves, because their country was better for pasture than tillage, and some say their tribes had not their names from the sons of Ion, but from the different occupations they followed: the soldiers being called *hoplitæ*, the artificers *ergadæs;* and of the other two, the husbandmen *teleontes*; and the graziers *ægicores.*

As Attica was not supplied with water from perennial rivers, lakes, or springs,[3] but chiefly by wells dug for that purpose, he made a law, that where there was a public well, all within the distance of four furlongs should make use of it; but where the distance was

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1 No adulteress was to adorn herself, or to assist at the public sacrifices; and in case she did, he gave liberty to any one to tear her clothes off her back, and beat her into the bargain.

2 At the same time he contracted the rewards bestowed upon wrestlers, esteeming such gratuities useless and even dangerous, as they tended to encourage idleness by putting men upon wasting that time in exercises which ought to be spent in providing for their families.

3 Strabo tells us there was a spring of fresh water near the Lyceum; but the soil of Attica in general was dry, and the rivers Ilissus and Eridanus did not run constantly.

greater, they were to provide a well of their own. And if they dug 10 fathoms deep in their own ground and could find no water, they had liberty to fill a vessel of 6 gallons twice a-day at their neighbour's. Thus he thought it proper to assist persons in real necessity, but not to encourage idleness. His regulations with respect to the planting of trees were also very judicious. He that planted any tree in his field, was to place it at least five feet from his neighbour's ground; and if it was a fig-tree or an olive, nine; for these extend their roots farther than others, and their neighbourhood is prejudicial to some trees, not only as they take away the nourishment, but as their effluvia is noxious. He that would dig a pit or a ditch, was to dig it as far from another man's ground as it was deep; and if any one would raise stocks of bees, he was to place them about 300 feet from those already raised by another.

Of all the products of the earth, he allowed none to be sold to strangers, but oil; and whoever presumed to export anything else, the *archon* was solemnly to declare him accursed, or to pay himself 100 *drachmas* into the public treasury. This law is in the 1st table. And therefore it is not absolutely improbable, what some affirm, that the exportation of figs was formerly forbidden, and that the informer against the delinquents was called a *sycophant*.

He likewise enacted a law for reparation of damage received from beasts. A dog that had bit a man was to be delivered up and bound to a log of four cubits long:[1] an agreeable contrivance for security against such an animal.

But the wisdom of the law concerning the naturalizing of foreigners is a little dubious, because it forbids the freedom of the city to be granted to any but such as are for ever exiled from their own country, or transplant themselves to Athens with their own family, for the sake of exercising some manual trade. This, we are told, he did, not with a view to keep strangers at a distance, but rather to invite them to Athens, upon the sure hope of being admitted to the privilege of citizens; and he imagined the settlement of those might be entirely depended upon, who had been driven from their native country, or had quitted it by choice.

That law is peculiar to Solon, which regulates the going to entertainments made at the public charge, by him called *parasitiæ*.[2] For he does not allow the same person to repair to them often, and he lays a penalty upon such as refused to go when invited, looking upon the former as a mark of epicurism, and the latter of contempt of the public.

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1 This law, and several others of Solon's, were taken into the twelve tables. In the consulate of T. Romilius and C. Veturius, in the year of Rome 303, the Romans sent deputies to Athens, to transcribe his laws, and those of the other lawgivers of Greece, in order to form thereby a body of laws for Rome.

2 In the first ages the name of *parasite* was venerable and sacred, for it properly signified one that was a messmate at the table of sacrifices. There were in Greece several persons particularly honoured with this title, much like those whom the Romans called *epulones*, a religious order instituted by Numa. Solon ordained that every tribe should offer a sacrifice once a month, and at the end of the sacrifice make a public entertainment, at which all who were of that tribe should be obliged to assist by turns.

All his laws were to continue in force for 100 years, and were written upon wooden tables which might be turned round in the oblong cases that contained them. Some small remains of them are preserved in the *Prytaneum* to this day. They were called *cyrbes*, as Aristotle tells us; and Cratinus, the comic poet, thus speaks of them:

> By the great names of Solon and of Draco,
> Whose cyrbes now but serve to boil our pulse.

Some say, those tables were properly called *cyrbes*, on which were written the rules for religious rites and sacrifices, and the other *axones*. The senate, in a body, bound themselves by oath to establish the laws of Solon: and the *thesmothetæ*, or *guardians of the laws*, severally took an oath in a particular form, by the stone in the market-place, that for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself.[1]

Observing the irregularity of the months,[2] and that the moon neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun, as it often happened that in the same day she overtook and passed by him, he ordered that day to be called *hene kai nea* (the old and the new), assigning the part of it before the conjunction, to the old month, and the rest to the beginning of the new. He seems, therefore, to have been the first who understood that verse in Homer, which makes mention of a day wherein the *old month ended and the new began*—Odyss. xiv. 162.

The day following he called the *new moon*. After the twentieth he counted not by adding but subtracting to the thirtieth, according to the decreasing phases of the moon.

When his laws took place,[3] Solon had his visitors every day, finding

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1 Gold in Solon's time was so scarce in Greece, that when the Spartans were ordered by the oracle to gild the face of Apollo's statue, they inquired in vain for gold all over Greece, and were directed by the pythoness to buy some of Crœsus king of Lydia.

2 Solon discovered the falseness of Thales's maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in 30 days, and found that the true time was 29½ days. He directed, therefore, that each of the 12 months should be accounted 29 or 30 days alternately. By this means a lunar year was formed, of 354 days; and to reconcile it to the solar year, he ordered a month of 22 days to be intercalated every 2 years, and at the end of the second 2 years, he directed that a month of 23 days should be intercalated. He likewise engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, styled the *beginning, middling*, and *ending*; each of these consisted of 10 days, when the month was 30 days long, and the last of 9, when it was 29 days long. In speaking of the two first parts, they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, viz., the first, &c., day of the moon beginning; the first, second, &c., of the moon middling; but with respect to the last part of the month, they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of saying the first, second, &c., day of the moon ending, they said the tenth, ninth, &c., of the moon ending. This is a circumstance which should be carefully attended to.

3 Plutarch has only mentioned such of Solon's laws as he thought the most singular and remarkable. Diogenes Laertius, and Demosthenes have given us accounts of some others that ought not to be forgotten.—"Let not the guardian live in the same house with the mother of his wards. Let not the tuition of minors be committed to him who is next after them in the inheritance. Let not an engraver keep the impression of a seal which he has engraved. Let him that puts out the eye of a man who has but one, lose both his own. "If an archon is taken in liquor, let him be put to death." Let him who refuses to maintain his father and mother, be infamous; and so let him that has consumed his patrimony. Let him who refuses to go to war, flies, or behaves cowardly, be debarred the precincts of the *forum* and places of public worship. If a man

fault with some of them, and commending others, or advising him to make certain additions or retrenchments. But the greater part came to desire a reason for this or that article, or a clear and precise explication of the meaning and design. Sensible that he could not well excuse himself from complying with their desires, and that if he indulged their importunity, the doing it might give offence, he determined to withdraw from the difficulty, and to get rid at once of their cavils and exceptions. For, as he himself observes,

Not all the greatest enterprise can please.

Under pretence, therefore, of traffic, he set sail for another country, having obtained leave of the Athenians for ten years' absence. In that time he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

His first voyage was to Egypt, where he abode some time, as he himself relates,

On the Canopian shore, by Nile's deep mouth.

There he conversed upon points of philosophy with Psenophis the Heliopolitan, and Senchis the Saite, the most learned of the Egyptian priests; and having an account from them of the *Atlantic* island[1] (as Plato informs us), he attempted to describe it to the Grecians in a poem. From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, and there was honoured with the best regards of Philocyprus, one of the kings of that island, who reigned over a small city built by Demophon the son of Thesus, near the river Clarius, in a strong situation indeed, but very indifferent soil. As there was an agreeable plain below, Solon persuaded him to build a larger and pleasanter city there, and to remove the inhabitants of the other to it. He also assisted in laying out the whole, and building it in the best manner for convenience and defence; so that Philocyprus in a short time had it so well peopled as to excite the envy of the other princes. And, therefore, though the former city was called *Aipeia*, yet in honour of Solon, he called the new one *Soli*. He himself speaks of the building of this city, in his elegies, addressing himself to Philocyprus:

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surprises his wife in adultery, and lives with her afterwards, let him be deemed infamous. Let him who frequents the houses of lewd women, be debarred from speaking in the assemblies of the people. Let a pander be pursued, and put to death if taken. If any man steal in the day-time, let him be carried to the eleven officers; if in the night, it shall be lawful to kill him in the act, or to wound him in the pursuit, and carry him to the aforesaid officers: if he steals common things, let him pay double, and if the convictor thinks fit, be exposed in chains five days; if he is guilty of sacrilege, let him be put to death."

[1] Plato finished this history from Solon's memories, as may be seen in his Timæus and Critias. He pretends that this Atlantis, an island situated in the Atlantic Ocean, was bigger than Asia and Africa, and that, notwithstanding its vast extent, it was drowned in one day and night. Diodorus Siculus says, the Carthaginians, who discovered it, made it death for any one to settle in it. Amidst a number of conjectures concerning it, one of the "most probable is, that in those days the Africans had some knowledge of America." Another opinion, worth mentioning, is, that the *Atlantides*, or *Fortunate* Islands, were what we now call the Canaries. Homer thus describes them:

Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:
The fields are florid with unfading prime.
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Moulds the round hail, or flakes the fleecy snow;
But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the western gale.

Pope.

> For you belong the Sollan throne decreed!
> For you a race of prosperous sons succeed!
> If in these scenes to her so justly dear,
> My hand a blooming city help'd to rear,
> May the sweet voice of smiling Venus bless,
> And speed me home with honours and success.

As for his interview with Crœsus, some pretend to prove from chronology that it is fictitious. But since the story is so famous, and so well attested, nay, (what is more), so agreeable to Solon's character, so worthy of his wisdom and magnanimity. I cannot prevail with myself to reject it for the sake of certain chronological tables, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring them to any certainty. Solon, then, is said to have gone to Sardis at the request of Crœsus; and when he came there, he was affected much in the same manner as a person born in an inland country, when he first goes to see the ocean; for as he takes every great river he comes to for the sea; so Solon, as he passed through the court, and saw many of the nobility richly dressed, and walking in great pomp amidst a crowd of attendants and guards, took each of them for Crœsus. At last, when he was conducted into the presence, he found the king set off with whatever can be imagined curious and valuable, either in beauty of colours, elegance of golden ornaments, or splendour of jewels; in order that the grandeur and variety of the scene might be as striking as possible. Solon, standing over against the throne, was not at all surprised, nor did he pay those compliments that were expected; on the contrary, it was plain to all persons of discernment that he despised such vain ostentation and littleness of pride. Crœsus then ordered his treasures to be opened, and his magnificent apartments and furniture to be shewn him; but this was quite a needless trouble; for Solon in one view of the king was able to read his character. When he had seen all, and was conducted back, Crœsus asked him, *If he had ever beheld a happier man than he?* Solon answered, *He had, and that the person was one Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him; and who having been above the want of necessaries all his life, died gloriously fighting for his country.* By this time he appeared to Crœsus to be a strange uncouth kind of rustic, who did not measure happiness by the quantity of gold and silver, but could prefer the life and death of a private and mean person to *his* high dignity and power. However, he asked him again, *Whether, after Tellus, he knew another happier man in the world?* Solon answered, *Yes, Cleobis and Biton, famed for their brotherly affection, and dutiful behaviour to their mother; for the oxen not being ready, they put themselves in the harness, and drew their mother to Juno's temple, who was extremly happy in having such sons, and moved forward amidst the blessings of the people. After the sacrifice, they drank a cheerful cup with their friends, and then laid down to rest, but rose no more, for they died in the night without sorrow or pain, in the midst of so much glory. Well!* said Crœsus, now highly displeased, *and do you not then rank us in the number of happy men?* Solon, unwilling either to flatter him,

or exasperate him more, replied, *King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise he has favoured them with a democratic spirit and a liberal kind of wisdom, which has no taste for the splendours of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life suffer us not to be elated by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man many various and uncertain events in its bosom. He, therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the last, is, in our estimation, the happy man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain.* With these words Solon departed, leaving Crœsus chagrined, but not instructed.

At that time Æsop, the fabulist, was at the court of Crœsus, who had sent for him, and caressed him not a little. He was concerned at the unkind reception Solon met with, and thereupon gave him this advice: *A man should either not converse with kings at all, or say what is agreeable to them.* To which Solon replied, *Nay, but he should either not do it at all, or say what is useful to them.*

Though Crœsus at that time held our lawgiver in contempt, yet when he was defeated in his wars with Cyrus, when his city was taken, himself made prisoner, and laid bound upon the pile in order to be burned in the presence of Cyrus and all the Persians, he cried out as loud as he possibly could, "Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus surprised at this, sent to inquire of him, "What god or man it was whom alone he thus invoked under so great a calamity?" Crœsus answered without the least disguise, "He is one of the wise men of Greece whom I sent for, not with a design to hear his wisdom, or to learn what might be of service to me, but that he might see and extend the reputation of that glory, the loss of which I find a much greater misfortune than the possession of it was a blessing. My exalted state was only an exterior advantage, the happiness of opinion; but the reverse plunges me into real sufferings, and ends in misery irremediable. This was foreseen by that great man who, forming a conjecture of the future from what he then saw, advised me to consider the end of life, and not to rely or grow insolent upon uncertainties." When this was told Cyrus, who was a much wiser man than Crœsus, finding Solon's maxim confirmed by an example before him, he not only set Crœsus at liberty, but honoured him with his protection as long as he lived. Thus Solon had the glory of saving the life of one of these kings, and of instructing the other.

During his absence the Athenians were much divided among themselves. Lycurgus being at the head of the low country, Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, of the people that lived near the sea-coast, and Pisistratus of the mountaineers; among which last was a multitude of labouring people, whose enmity was chiefly levelled at the rich. Hence it was that though the city did observe Solon's laws, yet all expected some change, and were desirous of another establishment, not in hopes of an equality, but with a view to be gainers by the alteration, and entirely to subdue those that differed from them.

While matters stood thus, Solon arrived at Athens, where he was received with great respect, and still held in veneration by all; but by reason of his great age he had neither the strength nor spirit to act or speak in public as he had done. He therefore applied in private to the heads of the factions, and endeavoured to appease and reconcile them. Pisistratus seemed to give him greater attention than the rest, for Pisistratus had an affable and engaging manner. He was a liberal benefactor to the poor;[1] and even to his enemies he behaved with great candour. He counterfeited so dexterously the good qualities which nature had denied him, that he gained more credit than the real possessors of them, and stood foremost in the public esteem in point of moderation and equity, in zeal for the present government, and aversion to all that endeavoured at a change. With these arts he imposed upon the people; but Solon soon discovered his real character, and was the first to discern his insidious designs. Yet he did not absolutely break with him, but endeavoured to soften him and advise him better; declaring both to him and others, that if ambition could but be banished from his soul, and he could be cured of his desire of absolute power, there would not be a man better disposed, or a more worthy citizen in Athens.

About this time Thespis began to change the form of tragedy, and the novelty of the thing attracted many spectators, for this was before any prize was proposed for those that excelled in this respect. Solon, who was always willing to hear and to learn, and in his old age more inclined to any thing that might divert and entertain, particularly to music and good fellowship, went to see Thespis himself exhibit, as the custom of the ancient poets was. When the play was done he called to Thespis, and asked him, *If he was not ashamed to tell so many lies before so great an assembly?* Thespis answered, *It was no great matter if he spoke or acted so in jest.* To which Solon replied, striking the ground violently with his staff. *If we encourage such jesting as this, we shall quickly find it in our contracts and agreements.*

Soon after this, Pisistratus, having wounded himself for the purpose, drove in that condition into the market-place, and endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people, by telling them his enemies had laid in wait for him, and treated him in that manner on account of his patriotism. Upon this the multitude loudly expressed their indignation; but Solon came up and thus accosted him: *Son of Hippocrates, you act Homer's Ulysses but very indifferently; for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies, but you have done it to impose upon your countrymen.* Notwithstanding this, the rabble were ready to take up arms for him, and a general assembly of the people being summoned, Ariston made a motion,

[1] By the poor, we are not to understand such as asked alms, for there were none such in Athens. "In those days," says Isocrates, "there was no citizen that died of want, or begged in the streets, to the dishonour of the community." This was owing to the laws against idleness and prodigality, and the care which the *areopagus* took that every man should have a visible livelihood.

that a body-guard of fifty clubmen should be assigned him. Solon stood up and opposed it with many arguments, of the same kind with those he has left us in his poems:

You hang with rapture on his honey'd tongue

And again,

Your art, to public interest ever blind, Your fox-like art still centres in yourself.

But when he saw the poor behave in a riotous manner, and determined to gratify Pisistratus at any rate, while the rich out of fear declined the opposition, he retired with this declaration, that he had shewn more wisdom than the former, in discerning what method should have been taken; and more courage than the latter, who did not want understanding, but spirit to oppose the establishment of a tyrant. The people having made the decree, did not curiously inquire into the number of guards which Pisistratus employed, but visibly connived at his keeping as many as he pleased till he seized the citadel. When this was done, and the city in great confusion, Megacles, with the rest of the Alcmæonidæ, immediately took to flight. But Solon, though he was now very old and had none to second him, appeared in public and addressed himself to the citizens, sometimes upbraiding them with their past indiscretion and cowardice, sometimes exhorting and encouraging them to stand up for their liberty. Then it was that he spoke those memorable words—*It would have been easier for them to repress the advances of tyranny, and prevent its establishment; but now it was established and grown to some height, it would be more glorious to demolish it.* However finding that their fears prevented their attention to what he said, he returned to his own house and placed his weapons at the street-door, with these words—*I have done all in my power to defend my country and its laws.* This was his last public effort. Though some exhorted him to fly, he took no notice of their advice, but was composed enough to make verses, in which he thus reproaches the Athenians:

If fear or folly has your rights betray'd,
Let not the fault on righteous Heaven be laid.
You gave them guards; you raised your tyrants high.
T' impose the heavy yoke that draws the heaving sigh.

Many of his friends alarmed at this, told him the tyrant would certainly put him to death for it, and asked him what he trusted to that he went such imprudent lengths; he answered, *To old age.* However, when Pisistratus had fully established himself, he made his court to Solon, and treated him with so much kindness and respect, that Solon became as it were, his counsellor, and gave sanction to many of his proceedings. He observed the greatest part of Solon's laws, shewing himself the example and obliging his friends to follow it. Thus, when he was accused of murder before the court of *areopagus*, he appeared in a modest manner to make his defence, but his accuser dropped the impeachment. He likewise added other laws, one of which was, that *persons maimed in the wars should be maintained at the public charge.* Yet this, Heraclides tells us, was in pursuance of Solon's plan, who had decreed the same in the case of Thersippus. But according to Theophrastus, Pisistratus,

not Solon, made the law against idleness, which produced at once greater industry in the country and tranquillity in the city.

Solon moreover attempted, in verse, a large description, or rather fabulous account of the Atlantic Island,[1] which he had learned from the wise men of Sais, and which particularly concerned the Athenians; but by reason of his age—not want of leisure—(as Plato would have it,) he was apprehensive the work would be too much for him, and therefore did not go through with it. These verses are a proof that business was not the hindrance.

I grow in learning as I grow in years.

And again,

Wine, wit, and beauty, still their charms bestow,
Light all the shades of life, and cheer us as we go.

Plato, ambitious to cultivate and adorn the subject of the Atlantic Island as a delightful spot in some fair field unoccupied, to which also he had made some claim by his being related to Solon,[2] laid out magnificent courts and enclosures, and erected a grand entrance to it, such as no other story, fable, or poem ever had. But as he began it late, he ended his life before the work, so that the more the reader is delighted with the part that is written, the more regret he has to find it unfinished. As the temple of Jupiter Olympius in Athens is the only one that has not the last hand put to it, so the wisdom of Plato, amongst his many excellent works, has left nothing imperfect but the Atlantic Island.

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Solon lived a considerable time after Pisistratus usurped the government; but according to Phanias the Ephesian, not quite two years. For Pisistratus began his tyranny in the archonship of Conias, and Phanias tells us Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus, the immediate successor to Conias. The story of his ashes[3] being scattered about the isle of Salamis, appears absurd and fabulous; and yet it is related by several authors of credit, and by Aristotle in particular.

ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and the ward of Alopece. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say, he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on account of their poverty.[4]—But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this

1 This fable imported, that the people of Atlantis having subdued all Lybia, and a great part of Europe, threatened Egypt and Greece; but the Athenians making head against their victorious army, overthrew them in several engagements, and confined them to their own island.

2 Plato's mother was a descendant of the brother of Solon.

3 It is said by Diogenes Laertius, that this was done by his own order. In thus disposing of his remains, either Solon himself, or those who wrote his history, imitated the story of Lycurgus, who left an express order that his ashes should be thrown into the sea.

4 And yet, according to a law of Solon's, the bride was to carry with her only three suits of clothes, and a little household stuff of small value.

general opinion in his *Socrates*, and says there was a farm at Phalera which went by the name of Aristides, and that there he was buried. And to prove that there was a competent estate in his family, he produces three arguments. The first is taken from the office of archon,[1] which made the year bear his name; and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but such as had an income of the first degree, consisting of 500 measures of corn, wine, and oil, who therefore were called *Pentacosiomedimni*. The second argument is founded on the *Ostracism*, by which he was banished, and which was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only upon persons of quality, whose grandeur and family pride made them obnoxious to the people. The third and last is drawn from the Tripods, which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, on account of his victory in the public games, and which are still to be seen, with this inscription, "The tribe of Antiochus gained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges, and Archestratus was the author of the play."

But this last argument, though in appearance the strongest of all, is really a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, who was not rich, exhibited very splendid shows: the one was at the expense of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of singing and dancing performed by boys at Athens, Dion having furnished Plato with the money, and Pelopides supplied Epaminondas. For why should good men be always averse to the presents of their friends? while they think it mean and ungenerous to receive anything for themselves, to lay up, or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuse such offers as serve the purposes of honour and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the Tripods, inscribed with ARISTIDES, Panætius shews plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the name. For according to the registers, from the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were only two of the name of Aristides who carried the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the son of Lysimachus: for the former was son to Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters, which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not found in any record or author during the Persian wars; whereas mention is often made of a poet of that name, who brought his pieces upon the stage in the time of the Peloponnesian war.[2] But this argument of Panætius should not be admitted without farther examination.

And as for the Ostracism, every man that was distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence, was liable to suffer by it; since it

[1] At Athens they reckoned their years by *Archons*, as the Romans did theirs by *Consuls*. One of the nine Archons, who all had estates of the first degree, was for this purpose chosen by lot out of the rest, and his name inscribed in the public registers.

[2] It is very possible for a poet, in his own lifetime, to have his plays acted in the Peloponnesian war, and in the Persian too. And therefore the inscription which Plutarch mentions might belong to our Aristides.

fell even upon Damon, preceptor to Pericles, because he was looked upon as a man of superior parts and policy. Besides, Idomeneus tells us, that Aristides came to be *Archon* not by lot, but by particular appointment of the people. And if he was *Archon* after the battle of Platæa,[1] as Demetrius himself writes, it is very probable that, after such great actions, and so much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. But it is plain that Demetrius laboured to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were some great evil, not only from Aristides, but from Socrates too; who he says, besides a house of his own, had 70 minæ[2] at interest in the hands of Crito.

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clisthenes, who settled the popular government at Athens, after the expulsion of the tyrants;[3] yet he had, at the same time, the greatest veneration for Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, whom he considered as the most excellent of lawgivers: and this led him to be a favourer of aristocracy, in which he was always opposed by Themistocles, who listed in the party of the commons. Some, indeed, say, that being brought up together from their infancy, when boys, they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but in their very sports and diversions: and their tempers were discovered from the first by that opposition. The one was insinuating, daring, and artful; variable, and at the same time impetuous in his pursuits: the other was solid and steady, inflexibly just, incapable of using any falsehood, flattery, or deceit, even at play. But Aristo of Chios[4] writes, that their enmity, which afterwards came to such a height, took its rise from love.

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Themistocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends, and became respectable in the strength of his popularity. Thus when he was told, that "he would govern the Athenians extremely well, if he would but do it without respect of persons," he said, "May I never sit on a tribunal where my friends shall not find more favour from me than strangers."

Aristides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the administration. For he would neither consent to any injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them, by denying all they asked: and as he saw that many, depending on their interest and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavoured after that support, but declared that a good citizen should place his whole strength and security in advising and doing what is just and right. Nevertheless, as Themistocles made many rash and

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1 But Demetrius was mistaken; for Aristides was never Archon after the battle of Platæa, which was fought in the second year of 75 Olympiad. In the list of Archons the name of Aristides is found in 72 Olympiad, a year or two after the battle of Marathon, and in the second year of 74 Olympaid, four years before the battle of Platæa.

2 But Socrates himself declares, in his apology to his judges, that, considering his poverty, they could not in reason fine him more than one minæ.

3 These tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, who were driven out about 66 Olympiad

4 Dacier thinks it was rather Aristo at Cos, because, as a peripatetic, he was more likely to write treatises of love than the other, who was a stoic.

dangerous motions, and endeavoured to break his measures in every step of government, he was obliged to oppose him as much in his turn, partly by way of self-defence, and partly to lessen his power, which daily increased through the favour of the people. For he thought it better that the commonwealth should miss some advantages, than that Themistocles, by gaining his point, should come at last to carry all before him. Hence it was, that one day when Themistocles proposed something advantageous to the public, Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with success; but as he went out of the Assembly, he could not forbear saying, "The affairs of the Athenians cannot prosper, except they throw Themistocles and myself into the Barathrum."[1] Another time, when he intended to propose a decree to the people, he found it strongly disputed in the council, but at last he prevailed: perceiving its inconveniences, however, by the preceding debates, he put a stop to it, just as the president was going to put it to the question, in order to its being confirmed by the people. Very often he offered his sentiments by a third person, lest, by the opposition of Themistocles to him, the public good should be obstructed.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed with ill success, he went on in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his services, without the reward either of honour or profit. Hence it was that when those verses of Æschylus concerning Amphiaraus were repeated on the stage,

> To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim;
> His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,
> And wants no other praise;[2]

the eyes of the people in general were fixed on Aristides, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable. Indeed, he was capable of resisting the suggestions, not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity too, wherever justice was concerned. For it is said, that when he was carrying on a prosecution against his enemy, and after he had brought his charge, the judges were going to pass sentence without hearing the person accused, he rose up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time, when he himself sat judge between two private persons, and one of them observed, "That his adversary had done many injuries to Aristides." "Tell me not that," said he, "but what injury he has done to thee; for it is thy cause I am judging, not my own."

When appointed public treasurer he made it appear that not only those of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own use; and particularly Themistocles:

> ——— For he, with all his wisdom, Could ne'er command his hands.

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1 The barathrum was a very deep pit, into which condemned persons were thrown headlong.

2 These verses are to be found in the "Siege of Thebes by the seven Captains." They are a description of the genius and temper of Amphiaraus, which the courier, who brings an account of the enemy's attacks, and of the characters of the commanders gives to Eteocles.

For this reason, when Aristides gave in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of misapplying the public money, and (according to Idomeneus) got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable of the citizens,[1] incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but chosen again chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too strict, and carrying a gentler hand over those that acted under him, suffered them to pilfer the public money, without seeming to find them out, or reckoning strictly with them, so that, fattening on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and heartily espousing his cause, begged of the people to continue him in the same department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their suffrages, he gave them this severe rebuke: "While I managed your finances with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded with calumnies; and now when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty good citizen; but I assure you, I am more ashamed of the present honour than I was of the former disgrace; and it is with indignation and concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men, than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking and discovering their frauds, he silenced those that recommended him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was sent by Darius under the pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis, but in reality to subdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighbouring country. Among the generals to whom the Athenians gave the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and the next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle,[2] and Aristides seconding him, added no little weight to his scale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day; but when it came to Aristides's turn, he gave up his right to Miltiades, thus showing his colleagues that it was no disgrace to follow the directions of the wise, but that on the contrary, it answered several honourable and salutary purposes. By this means he laid the spirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in, and follow the best opinion, he strengthened the hands of Miltiades, who now had the absolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer insisting on their days, but entirely submitting to his orders.[3]

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[1] The Court of Areopagus interposed in his behalf.

[2] According to Herodotus (l. vi. c. 109), the generals were very much divided in their opinions; some were for fighting, others not; Miltiades observing this, addressed himself to Callimachus of Aphidnæ, who was *Polemarch*, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals. Callimachus, whose voice was decisive according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Possibly Aristides might have some share in bringing Callimachus to this resolution.

[3] Yet he would not fight until his own proper day of command came about, for fear that through any latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should be led not to do their duty.

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest,[1] because there, for a long time, the barbarians made their greatest efforts against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; and Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves at the head of them with all the spirit of emulation, behaved with so much vigour that the enemy were put to flight and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, instead of sailing to the isles to return to Asia, were driven in by the wind and currents towards Attica,[2] and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an easy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition that they reached (40 miles) the city in one day.

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe to guard the prisoners and the spoils, and he did not disappoint the public opinion; for though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in the tents and ships which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination to touch anything himself, nor permitted others to do it. But notwithstanding his care, some enriched themselves unknown to him, among whom was Callias, the torch-bearer.[3] One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably taking him for a king on account of his long hair and the fillet which he wore,[4] prostrated himself before him, and taking him by the hand, showed him a great quantity of gold that was hid in a well. But Callias, not less cruel than unjust, took away the gold, and then killed the man that had given him information of it, lest he should mention the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, it was, that the comic writers called his family *Laccopluti*, i.e., *enriched by the well*, jesting upon the place from whence their founder drew his wealth.

The year following, Aristides was appointed to the office of *Archon*, which gave his name to that year; though, according to Demetrius and Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Platæa, a little before his death. But in the public registers we find not any of the name of Aristides in the list of archons after Xanthippides, in whose archonship Mardonius was beaten at Platæa, whereas his

[1] The Athenians and Platæans fought with such obstinate valour on the right and left, that the barbarians were forced to fly on both sides. The Persians and Sacæ, however, perceiving that the Athenian centre was weak, charged with such force, that they broke through it; this those on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Persian army; then bending the points of the wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious Persians, and cut them in pieces.

[2] It was reported in those times, that the Alcmæonidæ encouraged the Persians to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal. However it was, the Persian fleet endeavoured to double the cape of Junium, with a view to surprise the city of Athens before the army could return. HERODOT. l. vi. c. 101, &c.

[3] Torch-bearers, styled in Greek *dadouchi*, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even to the most sacred mysteries. Pausanias speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office.

[4] Both priests and kings wore fillets or diadems. It is well known, that in ancient times those two dignities were generally vested in the same person; and such nations as abolished the kingly office, kept the title of king for a person who ministered in the principal functions of the priesthood.

name is on record immediately after Phanippus,[1] who was archon the same year that the battle was gained at Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were most struck with his justice, because the public utility was the most promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of *the Just*, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be styled *Poliorceti, takers of cities; Cerauni, thunderbolts; Nicanors, conquerors.* Nay, some have chosen to be called *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue. Whereas the Deity himself, to whom they want to be compared, is distinguished by three things—immortality, power, and virtue; and of these, virtue is the most excellent and divine. For space and the elements are everlasting, earthquakes, lightning, storms, and torrents have an amazing power; but as for justice, nothing participates of that without reasoning and thinking of God. And whereas men entertain three different sentiments with respect to the gods, namely, admiration, fear, and esteem, it should seem that they admire and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption; that they fear and dread them because of their power and sovereignty; and that they love, honour, and reverence them for their justice. Yet, though affected these three different ways, they desire only the two first properties of the Deity: *immortality which our nature will not admit of*, and power which depends chiefly upon fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power, not considering that it is justice alone which makes the life of those flourish most in prosperity and high stations, heavenly and divine, while injustice renders it grovelling and brutal.

Aristides at first was loved and respected for his surname of *the Just*, and afterwards envied as much: the latter chiefly by the management of Themistocles, who gave it out among the people that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature, by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and so was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though without guards and the other ensigns of it. The people elevated with the late victory, thought themselves capable of everything, and the highest respect little enough for them. Uneasy therefore at finding that any one citizen rose to such extraordinary honour and distinction, they assembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, *and banished Aristides by the Ostracism*, disguising their envy of his character under the spacious pretence of guarding against tyranny.

For the *Ostracism* was not a punishment for crimes and misdemeanours, but was very decently called a humbling and lessening of some excessive influence and power. In reality, it was a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, discharged his spleen, not in any-

[1] From the registers it appears, that Phanippus was archon in the third year of Olympiad 72. It was therefore in this year that the battle of Marathon was fought, B.C. 490.

thing cruel or inhuman, but only in voting a *ten years' banishment.* But when it once began to fall upon mean and profligate persons, it was for ever after entirely laid aside, Hyperbolus being the last that was exiled by it.

The reason of its turning upon such a wretch was this. Alcibiades and Nicias, who were persons of the greatest interest in Athens, had each his party; but perceiving that the people were going to proceed to the Ostracism, and that one of them was likely to suffer by it, they consulted together, and joining interests, caused it to fall upon Hyperbolus. Hereupon the people, full of indignation at finding this kind of punishment dishonoured and turned into ridicule, abolished it entirely.

The Ostracism (to give a summary account of it) was conducted in the following manner:—Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or a shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he wanted to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place that was enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells, and if it amounted to 6000, the Ostracism stood for nothing; if it did, they sorted the shells, and the person whose name was found on the greatest number, was declared an exile for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the people were inscribing the names on the shells, it is reported that an illiterate burgher came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides upon it. The good man surprised at the adventure, asked him, *Whether Aristides had ever injured him? No*, said he, *nor do I even know him; but it vexes me to hear him everywhere called the Just.* Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name upon it returned it to the man. When he quitted Athens, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and agreeably to his character, made a prayer very different from that of Achilles, namely, "That the people of Athens might never see the day which should force them to remember Aristides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was passing through Thessaly and Bœotia by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reversed this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Aristides, for they were apprehensive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great part of the citizens, and draw them over to the interests of the barbarians. But they little knew the man. Before this ordinance of theirs he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he assisted him both with his person and counsel; not disdaining to raise his worst enemy to the highest pitch of glory for the public good. For when Eurybiades, the commander-in-chief, had resolved to quit Salamis,[1] and before he could put his pur-

[1] Eurybiades was for standing away for the gulf of Corinth, that he might be near the land army. But Themistocles clearly saw that in the straits of Salamis they could fight the Persian fleet, which was so vastly superior in numbers, with much greater advantage than in the gulf of Corinth where there was an open sea.

pose into execution, the enemy's fleet, taking advantage of the night, had surrounded the island, and in a manner blocked up the straits, without any one perceiving that the confederates were so hemmed in. Aristides sailed the same night from Ægina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached the tent of Themistocles, he desired to speak with him in private, and then addressed him in these terms: "You and I, Themistocles, if we are wise, shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary contention, striving which of us shall contribute most to the preservation of Greece; you, in doing the duty of a general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come immediately to an engagement in the straits; and though the allies oppose your design, the enemy promote it. For the sea on all sides is covered with their ships, so that the Greeks, whether they will or not, must come to action and acquit themselves like men, there being no room left for flight."

Themistocles answered, "I could have wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of yours by my future actions." At the same time he acquainted him with the statagem he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians,[1] and then desired him to go and make it appear to Eurîbiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight there, for he knew that Aristides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles, "Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present and says nothing." "You are mistaken," said Aristides, "for I should not have been silent had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible. And I now hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments." This, therefore, was what the Grecian officers fixed upon.

Aristides then perceiving that the little island of Psyttalia, which lies in the straits over against Salamis, was full of the enemy's troops, put on board the small transports a number of the bravest and most resolute of his countrymen, and made a descent upon the island, where he attacked the barbarians with such fury that they were all cut in pieces, except some of the principal persons, who were made prisoners. Among the latter were three sons of Sandauce, the king's sister, whom he sent immediately to Themistocles, and it is said, that by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, in pursuance of some oracle, they were all sacrificed to Bacchus *Omestes*. After this, Aristides placed a strong guard round the island, to take notice of such as were driven ashore there, that so none of his friends might perish, nor any of the enemy escape. For about Psyttalia the

[1] The stratagem was to send one to acquaint the enemy that the Greeks were going to quit the straits of Salamis, and therefore if the Persians were desirous to crush them at once, they must fall upon them immediately before they dispersed.

battle raged the most,[1] and the greatest efforts were made, as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said, "That great things were already done, but greater still remained; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge." But Aristides exclaimed against the proposal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and enquire what would be the speediest method of driving the Persians out of Greece, lest finding himself shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, necessity might bring him to fight with the most desperate courage. Hereupon, Themistocles sent to Xerxes the second time, by the eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners,[2] to acquaint him privately that the Greeks were strongly inclined to make the best of their way to the Hellespont to destroy the bridge which he had left there; but that, in order to save his royal person, Themistocles was using his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes terrified at this news, made all possible haste to the Hellespont, leaving Mardonius behind him with the land forces, consisting of 300,000 of his best troops.

In the strength of such an army Mardonius was very formidable; and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in this style: "At sea in your wooden towers you have defeated landmen, unpractised at the oar; but there are still the wide plains of Thessaly and the fields of Bœotia, where both horse and foot may fight to the best advantage." To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authorized by the king to assure them that their city should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no farther share in the war.[3]

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of these proposals, they were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Athens, to entreat the people to send their wives and children to Sparta,[4] and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of such as were in years; for the Athenians, having lost both their city and their country, were certainly in great distress. Yet when they had heard what the ambassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired. They said, "They could easily forgive their enemies for thinking that everything was to be purchased with silver and gold, because they had no idea of anything more excellent; but they

1 The great sea-fight of Salamis was fought 480 B.C.

2 This expedient answered two purposes. By it he drove the king of Persia out of Europe; and in appearance conferred an obligation upon him, which might be remembered to the advantage of Themistocles, when he came to have occasion for it.

3 He made these proposals by Alexander, king of Macedon, who delivered them in a set speech.

4 They did not propose to the Athenians to send their wives and children to Sparta, but only offered to maintain them during the war. They observed, that the original quarrel was between the Persians and Athenians: that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremost in the cause of liberty; and that there was no reason to believe the Persians would observe any terms with the people they hated.

could not help being displeased that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece for the paltry consideration of a supply of provisions." Aristides having drawn up his answer in the form of a decree, and called all the ambassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, *That the people of Athens would not take all the gold either above or under ground for the liberties of Greece.*

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun, and told them, "As long as this luminary shines, so long will the Athenians carry on war with the Persians for their country which has been laid waste, and for their temples which have been profaned and burned." He likewise procured an order, that the priests should solemnly execrate all that should dare to propose an embassy to the Medes, or talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis, and Aristides, who on that occasion went ambassador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and pressed them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The *Ephori* gave him the hearing,[1] but seemed attentive to nothing but mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus.[2] At night, however, they selected 5000 Spartans, with orders to take each seven *Helotes* with him, and to march before morning, unknown to the Athenians. When Aristides came to make his remonstrances again, they smiled and told him, "That he did but trifle or dream, since their army was at that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners," for so the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Aristides told them, "It was not a time to jest, or to put their stratagems in practice upon their friends, but on their enemies. This is the account Idomenius gives of the matter; but in Aristides's decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are said to have gone upon the embassy, and Aristides.

Aristides, however, was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and marched with 8,000 foot to Platæa. There Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief of all the confederates, joined him with the Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Persian army which was encamped along the river Asopas, occupied an immense tract of ground: and they had fortified a spot ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

[1] They put off their answer from time to time, until they had gained ten days; in which time they finished the wall across the Isthmus, which secured them against the barbarians.

[2] Among the Spartans the feast of Hyacinthus lasted three days. The first and last were days of sorrow and mourning for Hyacinthus's death, but the second was a day of rejoicing, celebrated with all manner of diversions.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tisamenus,[1] who foretold certain victory to Pausanias and the Greeks in general, if they did not attack the enemy, but stood only upon the defensive. And Aristides, having sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, received this answer: "The Athenians shall be victorious if they address their prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Cithæron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides;[2] if they sacrifice to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pysander, Democrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polydius; and if they fight only in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine." This oracle perplexed Aristides not a little. For the heroes to whom he was commanded to sacrifice were the ancestors of the Platæans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides in one of the summits of Mount Cithæron, opposite the quarter where the sun sets in the summer; and it is said, in that cave there was formerly an oracle, by which many who dwelt in those parts were inspired, and therefore called *Nympholepti*. On the other hand, to have the promise of victory only on condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the seat of war to Athens.

In the meantime, Arimnestus, general of the Platæans, dreamt that Jupiter *the Preserver*, asked him, "What the Greeks had determined to do?" To which he answered, "To-morrow they will decamp and march to Eleusis, to fight the barbarians there, agreeably to the oracle." The god replied, "They quite mistake its meaning; for the place intended by the oracle is in the environs of Platæa, and if they seek for it they will find it." The matter being so clearly revealed to Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke he sent for the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen, and having advised with them and made the best inquiry, he found that near Hysiæ, at the foot of Mount Cithæron, there was an ancient temple called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine. He immediately conducted Aristides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot that was deficient in cavalry, because the bottom of Mount Cithæron extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that side inaccessible to the horse. In that place was also the chapel of the hero Androcrates, quite covered with thick bushes and trees. And that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle, and confirm their hopes of victory, the Platæans resolved, at the motion of Arimnestus, to remove their boundaries between their country and Attica, and for the sake of Greece, to make a grant of those lands to the Athe-

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[1] The oracle having promised Tisamenus five great victories; the Lacedæmonians were desirous of having him for their diviner, but he demanded to be admitted a citizen of Sparta, which was refused at first. However, upon the approach of the Persians, he obtained that privilege both for himself and his brother Hegias. This would scarcely have been worth mentioning, had not those two been the only strangers that were ever made citizens of Sparta.

[2] The nymphs of mount Cithæron were called Sphragitides, which probably had its name from the silence observed in it by the persons who went thither to be inspired; silence being described by sealing the lips.

nians that, according to the oracle, they might fight in their own territories. This generosity of the Platæans gained them so much renown, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered Asia, he ordered the walls of Platæa to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald at the Olympic games. "That the king granted the Platæans this favour on account of their virtue and generosity in giving up their lands to the Greeks in the Persian war, and otherwise behaving with the greatest vigour and spirit."

When the confederates came to have their several posts assigned them, there was a great dispute between the Tegetæ and the Athenians: the Tegetæ insisting that as the Lacedæmonians were posted in the right wings, the left belonged to them; and in support of their claim, setting forth the gallant actions of their ancestors. As the Athenians expressed great indignation at this, Aristides stepped forward and said, "The time will not permit us to contest with the Tegetæ the renown of their ancestors and their personal bravery: but to the Spartans and to the rest of the Greeks we say, that the post neither gives valour nor takes it away, and whatever post you assign us, we will endeavour to do honour to it, and take care to reflect no disgrace upon our former achievements. For we are not come hither to quarrel with our allies, but to fight our enemies; not to make encomiums upon our forefathers, but to approve our own courage in the cause of Greece. And the battle will soon shew what value our country should set on every state, every general, and private man." After this speech, the council of war declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

While the fate of Greece was in suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture. For those of the best families and fortunes, being reduced by the war, and seeing their authority in the state and their distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Platæa, and conspired to abolish the democracy; and, if that did not succeed, to ruin all Greece, and to betray it to the barbarians. When Aristides got intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquired into, nor yet to sift it thoroughly, because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and thought it advisable to sacrifice justice, in some degree, to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many that were guilty. He, therefore, caused eight persons only to be apprehended, and of those eight no more than two, who were most guilty, to be proceeded against: Æschines of Lampra, and Asgesias of Acharnæ; and even they made their escape during the prosecution. As for the rest he discharged them, and gave them, and all that were concerned in the plot, opportunity to recover their spirits and change their sentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out against them; but he admonished them at the same time, "That the battle was the

great tribunal, where they might clear themselves of the charge, and shew they had never followed any counsels but such as were just and useful to their country."

After this,[1] Mardonius, to make a trial of the Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of mount Cithæron, in strong and stony places; except the Megarensians, who, to the number of 3000, were posted on the plain, and by this means suffered much by the enemy's horse, who charged them on every side. Unable to stand against such superior numbers, they despatched a messenger to Pausanias, for assistance. Pausanias, hearing their request, and seeing the camp of the Megarensians darkened with the shower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on; for he knew that his heavy-armed Spartans were not fit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured, therefore, to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and succour of the Megarensians. But they all declined it, except Aristides, who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the most active of his officers, to advance with his select band of 300 men and some archers intermixed. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Masistius, general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mien, no sooner saw them advancing, than he spurred his horse against them. The Athenians received him with great firmness, and a sharp conflict ensued; for they considered this as a specimen of the success of the whole battle. At last Masistius's horse was wounded with an arrow, and threw his rider, who could not recover himself because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians that strove which should do it first, because not only his body and his head, but his legs and arms were covered with plates of gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the staff of his spear, and so dispatched him. The Persians then left the body and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but small, but by the mourning of the barbarians, who, in their grief for Masistius, cut off their hair, and the manes of their horses and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having lost the man that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides forbore

[1] The battle of Platæa was fought 479 B.C., the year after that of Salamis. Herodotus was then about nine or ten years old, and had his accounts from persons that were present in the battle. And he informs us, that the circumstance here related by Plutarch happened before the Greeks left their camp at Erythræ, in order to encamp round to Platæa, and before the contest between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians. Lib. ix. 29, 30, &c.

the combat a long time, for the diviners, from the entrails of the victims, equally assured the Persians and the Greeks of victory, if they stood upon the defensive, and threatened a total defeat to the aggressors. But at length Mardonius, seeing but a few days' provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased daily by the arrival of fresh troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus next morning by break of day, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he hoped to find unprepared. For this purpose he gave his orders over night. But at midnight a man on horseback softly approached the Grecian camp, and, addressing himself to the sentinels, bade them call Aristides the Athenian general to him. Aristides came immediately, and the unknown person said, "I am Alexander, king of Macedon, who, for the friendship I bear to you, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers, to prevent your fighting under the disadvantage of a surprise; for Mardonius will give you battle to-morrow; not that he is induced to it by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but by the scarcity of provisions; for the soothsayers, by their ominous sacrifices and ill-boding oracles, endeavoured to divert him from it; but necessity forces him either to hazard a battle, or to sit still and see his whole army perish through want." Alexander, having thus opened himself to Aristides, desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person;[1] Aristides, however, thought it wrong to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief; but he promised not to mention the thing to any one besides until after the battle, and assured him at the same time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with this kindness and glorious daring conduct of Alexander.

The king of Macedon, having dispatched this affair, returned, and Aristides went immediately to the tent to Pausanias, and laid the whole before him; whereupon the other officers were sent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the same time, according to Herodotus, Pausanias informed Aristides of his design to alter the disposition of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and setting them to oppose the Persians, against whom they would act with more bravery, because they had made proof of their manner of fighting; and with greater assurance of success, because they had already succeeded. As for the left wing, which would have to do with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself.[2] The other Athenian officers thought Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand, in moving them up and down like so many *Helotes*, at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops, while he left the rest of the confederates in their posts. But Aristides told them they were under a

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1 According to Herodotus, Alexander had excepted Pausanias out of this charge of secrecy; and this is most probable, because Pausanias was commander-in-chief of the army.

2 Herodotus says the contrary; namely, that all the Athenian officers were ambitious of that post, but did not think proper to propose it for fear of disobliging the Spartans.

great mistake. "You contended," said he, "a few days ago with the Tegeæ for the command of the left wing, and valued yourself upon the preference; and now, when the Spartans voluntarily offer you the right wing, which is in effect giving up to you the command of the whole army, you are neither pleased with the honour, nor sensible of the advantage, of not being obliged to fight against your countrymen and those who have the same origin with you, but against barbarians, your natural enemies."

These words had such an effect upon the Athenians, that they readily agreed to change posts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They observed, "That the enemy brought neither better arms nor bolder hearts than they had at Marathon, but came with the same bows, the same embroidered vests and profusion of gold, the same effeminate bodies, and the same unmanly souls. For our part," continued they, "we have the same weapons and strength of body, together with additional spirits from our victories; and we do not, like them, fight for a tract of land or a single city, but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that the people of Athens, and not Miltiades and fortune, may have the glory of them."

While they were thus encouraging each other, they hastened to their new post. But the Thebans being informed of it by deserters, sent and acquainted Mardonius; who, either out of fear of the Athenians, or from an ambition to try his strength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Persians to his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemy's army being known, Pausanias made another movement, and passed to the right, which Mardonius perceiving, returned to the left, and so still faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take possession of a place more commodious for water, because the springs of their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse.

When night was come,[1] and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a new camp, the soldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together; for they were no sooner out of their first entrenchments, than many of them made off to the city of Platæa, and, either dispersing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though against their will. For Amompharetus, an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneasy to see the battle so often put off and delayed, plainly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and declared, "He would not quit his post, but remain there with his troops, and stand it out against Mardonius." And when Pausanias represented

1 On this occasion Mardonius did not fail to insult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who, as he pretended, never fled before the enemy.

to him that this measure was taken in pursuance of the counsel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias's feet, said, "This is my ballot for a battle; and I despise the timid counsels and resolves of others." Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but at last sent to the Athenians, who by this time were advancing, and desired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body; at the same time he marched with the rest of the troops towards Platæa, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius,[1] who was not ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle, and bore down upon the Spartans, the barbarians setting up such shouts, and clanking their arms in such a manner as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives and not a battle. And indeed it was like to have been so. For though Pausanias, upon seeing this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post; yet, either confused with his resentment against Amompharetus, or with the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word, and for that reason they neither engaged readily nor in a body, but continued scattered in small parties even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias in the meantime offered sacrifice; but seeing no auspicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay down their shields at their feet, and to stand still and attend his orders without opposing the enemy. After this he offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bow-shot, and some of the Spartans were wounded, among whom was Callicrates, a man that for size and beauty, exceeded the whole army. This brave soldier being shot with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, "He did not lament his death, because he came out resolved to shed his blood for Greece; but he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy."

If the terror of this situation was great, the steadiness and patience of the Spartans was wonderful, for they made no defence against the enemy's charge, but waiting the time of Heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

Some say, that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying at a little distance from the lines, certain Lydians coming suddenly upon him, seized and scattered the sacred utensils, and that Pausanias and those about him having no weapons, drove them away with rods and scourges. And they will have it to be in imitation of this

1 Having passed the Asopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeræ, who were separated from the body of the army, to the number of 53,000. Pausanias, finding himself thus attacked by the whole Persian army, despatched a messenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies; but were attacked, and to their great regret, prevented by those Greeks who sided with the Persians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke into the centre of the Persian army, and after a most obstinate resistance, put them to flight.

assault of the Lydians that they celebrate a festival at Sparta now, in which boys are scourged round the altar, and which concludes with a march called the *Lydian march*.

Pausanias, extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turning towards the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling from his eyes and uplifted hands, prayed to that goddess the protectress of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Platæans, "That if the fates had not decreed that the Grecians should conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dear, and show the enemy by their deeds that they had brave men and experienced soldiers to deal with."

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, the tokens so much desired appeared in the victim, and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given to the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of some fierce animal erecting his bristles, and preparing to exert his strength. The barbarians then saw clearly that they had to do with men who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood; and therefore, covering themselves with their targets, shot their arrows against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians moving forward in a close compact body, fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them, directed their pikes against their faces and breasts, and brought many of them to the ground. However, when they were down they continued to give proofs of their strength and courage, for they laid hold on the pikes with their naked hands and broke them; and then springing up betook themselves to their swords and battle-axes, and wresting away their enemies' shields and grappling close with them, made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still expecting the Lacedæmonians; but when the noise of the battle reached them, and an officer, as we are told, despatched by Pausanius, gave them an account that the engagement was begun, they hastened to his assistance; and as they were crossing the plain towards the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks who sided with the enemy pushed against them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced a considerable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force, conjured them by the gods of Greece, "To renounce this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians who were running to the succour of those that were now the first to hazard their lives for the safety of Greece." But finding that instead of hearkening to him, they approached in a hostile manner, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with these 5000 Greeks. But the greatest part soon gave way and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The sharpest part of this action is said to have been with the Thebans; among whom the first in quality and power, having embraced the Median interest, by their authority carried out the common people against their inclination.

The battle thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first

broke and routed the Persians; and Mardonius[1] himself was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestus,[2] who broke his skull with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold him. For Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle, and at the sametime a Carian to the cave of Trophonius.[3] The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian in his own language; but the Lydian, as he slept in the temple of Amphiaraus,[4] thought he saw a minister of the god approach him, who commanded him to be gone, and upon his refusal, threw a great stone at his head, so that he believed himself killed by the blow.

The barbarians flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp which they had fortified with wooden walls. And soon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing 300 persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought that the barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification; the Athenians therefore, suffering the Greeks to escape, hastened to assist in the siege; and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unskilled in the storming of walls, made but a slow progress, they attacked and took the camp[5] with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy. For it is said that out of 300,000 men only 40,000 escaped with Artabazus;[6] whereas of those that fought in the cause of Greece, no more were slain than 1360, among whom were 52 Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that action. And therefore, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory of the nymphs *Sphragitides*, having the expense defrayed out of the treasury. The Lacedæmonians lost 91, and the Tegetæ 16. But it is surprising that Herodotus should say, that these were the only Greeks that engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action. For both the number of the slain, and the monuments show, that it was the common achievements of the confederates; and the altar erected on that occasion would not have had the following inscription, if only three states had engaged, and the rest sat still:

> The Greeks their country freed—the Persians slain,
> Have rear'd this altar on the glorious field,
> To freedom's patron, Jove.

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[1] Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself greatly, and at the head of 1000 chosen men, killed a great number of the enemy; but when he fell, the whole Persian army was easily routed.

[2] In some copies he is called Diamnestus. Arimnestus was general of the Plateans.

[3] The cave of Trophonius was near the city of Labadia in Boeotia, above Delphi. Mardonius had sent to consult, not only this oracle, but almost all the other oracles in the country, so restless and uneasy was he about the event of the war.

[4] Amphiaraus, in his lifetime, had been a great interpreter of dreams, and therefore, after his death, gave his oracles by dreams: for which purpose those that consulted him slept in his temple, on the skin of a ram, which they had sacrificed to him.

[5] The spoil was immense, consisting of vast sums of money, of gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pausanias.

[6] Artabazus, who, from Mardonius's imprudent conduct, had too well foreseen the misfortune that befel him, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence passed over into Asia. Besides these, only 3000 men escaped.—HERODOT. l. ix. c. 81—89.

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boëdromion [*September*] according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but according to the Bœotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month *Panemus*. And on that day there is still a general assembly of the Greeks at Platæa, and the Platæans sacrifice to Jupiter *the Deliverer*, for the victory. Nor is this difference of days in the Grecian months to be wondered at, since even now, when the science of astronomy is so much improved, the months in the calendar begin and end differently in different places.

This victory went near to be the ruin of Greece. For the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honour of the day, or to consent that they should erect the trophy, would have referred it to the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Myronides, and persuading them to leave it to the judgement of the Greeks. A council was called accordingly, in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, "That those two states should give up the palm to a third, if they desired to prevent a civil war." Then Cleocritus the Corinthian, rose up, and it was expected he would set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valour, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens; but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Platæans, and proposed, "That, all disputes laid aside, the palm should be adjudged to them, since neither of the contending parties could be jealous of them." Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians.[1]

The confederates thus reconciled, 80 talents were set apart for the Platæans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected trophies separately; and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi about the sacrifice they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo "To build an altar to Jupiter *the Deliverer*, but not to offer any sacrifice upon it till they had extinguished all the fire in the country (because it had been polluted by the barbarians), and supplied themselves with pure fire from the common altar at Delphi." Hereupon the Grecian generals went all over the country and caused the fires to be put out, and Euchidas, a Platæan, undertaking to fetch fire with all imaginable speed from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, put a crown of laurel on his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Platæa, where he arrived before sun-set, thus performing a journey of 1000 furlongs in one day. But, having saluted his fellow-citizens, and delivered the fire, he fell down on the spot and presently expired. The Platæans carried him to the temple of

1 As to individuals, when they came to determine which had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of Aristodemus, who was the only one that had saved himself at Thermopylæ, and now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a glorious death.

Diana, surnamed Eucleia, and buried him there, putting this short inscription on his tomb—

Here lies *Euchidas* who went to Delphi, and returned the same day.

As for *Eucleia*, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name; but some say she was daughter to Hercules, and Myrto the daughter of Menœceus, and sister of Patroclus; and that dying a virgin, she had divine honours paid her by the Bœotians and Leocrians. For in the market-place of every city of theirs she has a statue and an altar, where persons of both sexes that are betrothed offer sacrifice before marriage.

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, "That deputies from all the states of Greece should meet annually at Platæa, to sacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, and that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of *liberty*: that a general levy should be made through Greece of 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 100 ships, for the war against the barbarians: and that the Platæans should be exempt, being set apart for the service of the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and consequently their persons to be esteemed sacred."

These articles passing into a law, the Platæans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. On the sixteenth day of Maimacterion [*Nov.*], which with the Bœotians is the month *Alalcomenius*, the procession begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet which sounds the signal of battle. Then follow several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. Then come some young men that are free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk, for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed essences: no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closes with the Archon of Platæa, who at other times is not allowed either to touch iron, or to wear any garments but a white one; but that day he is clothed with a purple robe, and girt with a sword: and carrying in his hand a water-pot, taken out of the public hall, he walks through the midst of the city to the tombs. Then he takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and, with his own hands, washes the little pillars of the monuments,[1] and rubs them with essences. After this he kills the bull upon a pile of wood; and having made his supplications to the terrestrial Jupiter;[2] and to Mercury, he invites those brave men who fell in the cause of Greece to the funeral banquet, and the streams of blood. Last of all he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out, he says, "I present this bowl to the men who died for

1 It appears from an epigram of Callimachus, that it was customary to place little pillars upon the monuments, which the friends of the deceased perfumed with essences, and crowned with flowers.

2 The terrestrial Jupiter is Pluto, who, as well as the celestial, had his Mercury, or else borrowed the messenger of the gods of his brother. To be sure, there might be as well two Mercuries as two Jupiters: but the conducting of souls to the shades below, is reckoned part of the office of that Mercury who waits upon the Jupiter of the skies.

the liberties of Greece." Such is the ceremony still observed by the Plateans.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides, observing that they used their utmost endeavours to make the government entirely democratical, considered, on one side, that the people deserved some attention and respect, on account of their gallant behaviour; and, on the other, that being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to force them to depart from their purpose; and therefore he caused a decree to be made, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the *Archons* should be chosen out of the whole body of them.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly that he had thought of an expedient which was very salutary to Athens,[1] but ought to be kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and abide by his judgment of it. Accordingly he told him, his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates; by which means the Athenians would be raised to the sovereignty of all Greece. Aristides then returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor anything more unjust." And upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in the integrity of Aristides.

Some time (eight years) after this he was joined in commission with Cimon, and sent against the barbarians; where, observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan generals behaved with excessive haughtiness, he chose a quite different manner, shewing much mildness and condescension in his whole conversation and address, and prevailing with Cimon to behave with equal goodness and affability to the whole league. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides, and the candour of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increased by the contrast they found in Pausanias's avarice and severity of manners. For he never spoke to the officers of the allies but with sharpness and anger, and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to stand all day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would not suffer any of them to provide themselves with forage, or straw to lie on, or to go to the springs for water, before the Spartans were supplied, but placed his servants there with rods, to drive away those that should attempt it. And when Aristides was going to remonstrate with him upon it, he knit his brows, and, telling him, "He was not at leisure," refused to hear him.

From that time the sea-captains and land-officers of the Greeks, particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces, and to re-

1 This was before the battle of Platæa, at the time when Xerxes was driven into Asia.

ceive them into his protection, since they had long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians. He answered, "That he saw the necessity and justice of what they proposed, but that the proposal ought first to be confirmed by some act, which would make it impossible for the troops to depart from their resolution." Hereupon Uliades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias's galley at the head of the fleet. Pausanias, upon this insolence, cried out in a menacing tone, "He would soon shew those fellows they had not offered this insult to his ship, but to their own countries." But they told him, "The best thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for fighting for him at Platæa; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the Greeks from wreaking their just vengeance on him." The conclusion was, that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themselves under those of the Athenians.

On this occasion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived their generals were spoiled with too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretensions to the chief command; choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the laws and customs of their country, than to possess the sovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war; and now, being desirous that every city might be more equally rated, they begged the favour of the Athenians that Aristides might take it upon him, and give him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues, in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which, in a manner, made him master of all Greece, did not abuse it. For though he went out poor, he returned poorer, having settled the quotas of the several states, not only justly and disinterestedly, but with so much tenderness and humanity, that his assessment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the ancients praised the times of Saturn, so the allies of Athens blessed the settlements of Aristides, calling it *the happy fortune of Greece:* a compliment which soon after appeared still more just, when this taxation was twice or three times as high. For that of Aristides amounted only to 460 talents; and Pericles increased it almost one third: for Thucydides writes, that at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received from their allies 600 talents; and after the death of Pericles, those that had the administration in their hands raised it by little and little to the sum of 1300 talents. Not that the war grew more expensive, either by its length or want of success, but because they had accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

The great and illustrious character which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation, piqued Themistocles; and he en-

deavoured to turn the praise bestowed upon him into ridicule, by saying "It was not the praise of a man, but of a money-chest, to keep treasure without diminution." By this he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Aristides. For one day Themistocles happening to say, "that he looked upon it as the principal excellence of a general to know and foresee the designs of the enemy;" Aristides answered, "That is indeed a necessary qualification; but there is another very excellent one, and highly becoming a general, and that is, to have clean hands."

When Aristides had settled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath; which he himself took on the part of the Athenians; and, at the same time that he uttered the execration on those who should break the articles, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea.[1] However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards required the Athenians to govern Greece with a stricter hand than those conditions justified, he advised them to let the consequences of the perjury rest with him, and pursue the path which expediency pointed out.[2] Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow-citizens, he was inflexibly just; but in affairs of state, he did many things according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to have need of the assistance of injustice. And he relates, that when it was debated in council, whether the treasures deposited at Delos should be brought to Athens, as the Samians had advised, though contrary to treaties, on its coming to his turn to speak, he said, "*It was not just, but it was expedient.*"

This must be said, that though he extended the dominions of Athens over so many people, he himself still continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won. The following is a clear proof of it. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his near relation, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into something foreign to their own charge, and thus addressed the judges: "You know Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who is justly the admiration of all Greece. When you see with what a garb he appears in public, in what manner do you think he must live at home? Must not he who shivers here with cold for want of clothing, be almost famished there, and destitute of all necessaries? yet this is the man, whom Callias, his cousin-german, and the richest man in Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves, with his wife and children, in such wretchedness; though he has often made use of him, and availed

1 As much as to say, as the fire in these pieces of iron is extinguished in a moment, so may their days be extinct who break this covenant.

2 Thus even the just, the upright Aristides made a distinction between his private and political conscience. A distinction which has no manner of foundation in truth or reason, and which in the end will be productive of ruin rather than advantage; as all those nations will find who avail themselves of injustice to serve a present occasion. For so much reputation is so much power; and states, as well as private persons, are respectable only in their character.

himself of his interest with you." Callias perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than anything else, called for Aristides to testify before the court, that he had many times offered him considerable sums, and strongly pressed him to accept them, but he had always refused them, in such terms as these: "It better becomes Aristides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his riches; for we see every day many people make a good as well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to find one that bears poverty with a noble spirit; and they only are ashamed of it who are poor against their will." When Aristides had given in his evidence, there was not a man in the court who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him than rich with Callias. This particular we have from Æschines, the disciple of Socrates. And Plato, among all that were accounted great and illustrious men in Athens, judged none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with magnificent buildings, with wealth, and the vain superfluities of life; but virtue was the only object that Aristides had in view in the whole course of his administration.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour with which he behaved towards Themistocles. For though he was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his banishment, yet when Themistocles was accused of capital crimes against the state, and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the least revenge; but while Alcmæon, Cimon, and many others were accusing him and driving him into exile, Aristides alone neither did nor said anything to his disadvantage; for as he had not envied his prosperity, so now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Aristides, some say it happened in Pontus, whither he had sailed about some business of the state; others say he died at Athens, full of days, honoured and admired by his fellow-citizens; but Craterus the Macedonian gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that after the banishment of Themistocles, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villianous informers who, attacking the greatest and best men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but on a charge brought against him by Diophantus of Amphitrope, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians at the time he levied the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty *minæ*, he sailed to some part of Ionia and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this assertion, nor does he allege any register of court or decree of the people, though on other occasions he is full of such proofs, and constantly cites his author. The other historians, without exception, who have given us accounts of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other instances, dwell upon the banishment of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed upon Pericles, and the death of Paches, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall at the foot of the tribunal. Nor

do they forget the banishment of Aristides, but they say not one word of this condemnation.

Besides, his monument is still to be seen at Phalereum, and is said to have been erected at the public charge, because he did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral. They inform us too, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had 3000 *drachmæ* to her portion out of the treasury; and to his son Lysimachus, the people of Athens gave 100 *minæ* of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four *drachmæ* a-day;[1] the whole being confirmed to him by a decree drawn up by Alcibiades. Callisthenes adds, that Lysimachus at his death, leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the same subsistence with those that had conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself, (if the treatise concerning nobility is to be reckoned among his genuine works,) relate that Myrto, a grand-daughter of Aristides, was married to Socrates the philosopher, who had another wife at the same time, but took her because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently confuted by Panætius in his life of that philosopher.

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, tells us, he remembered one Lysimachus, grandson to Aristides, who plied constantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood, and that he himself procured a decree by which his mother and aunt had three *oboli* a-day each allowed for their subsistence. He further acquaints us, that when afterwards he undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of those women a drachma a-day. Nor is it to be wondered at that this people took so much care of those that lived with him at Athens, when having heard that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived in mean circumstances in Lemnos, and continued unmarried by reason of her poverty, they sent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a considerable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. That city, even in our days, continues to give so many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that she is deservedly admired and applauded by all the world.

THEMISTOCLES.

THE family of Themistocles was too obscure to raise him to distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's side, he

[1] Though this may seem no extraordinary matter to us, being only about half-a-crown of our money, yet in those days it was. For an ambassador was allowed only two drachmæ a day, as appears from the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. The poet indeed speaks of one sent to the king of Persia, at whose court an ambassador was pretty sure to be enriched.

is said to have been illegitimate,[1] according to the following verses:

> Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon my name,
> My son enrols me in the lists of fame,
> The great Themistocles.

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon but Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Halicarnassus as the city to which she belonged. But be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth assembled at Cynosarges, in the wrestling-ring dedicated to Hercules, without the gates, which was appointed for that purpose, because Hercules himself was not altogether of divine extraction, but had a mortal for his mother, Themistocles found means to persuade some of the young noblemen to go to Cynosarges, and take their exercise with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between the illegitimate or aliens, and the legitimate, whose parents were both Athenians. It is plain, however, that he was related to the house of the Lycomedæ,[2] for Simonides informs us, that when a chapel of that family, in the ward of Phyle, where the mysteries of Ceres used to be celebrated, was burned down by the barbarians, Themistocles rebuilt it, and adorned it with pictures.

It appears that, when a boy, he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His hours of leisure and vacation he spent, not like other boys, in idleness and play; but he was always inventing and composing declamations, the subjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of some of his schoolfellows, so that his master would often say, "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent. You will either be a blessing or a curse to the community." As for moral philosophy and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge, and the administration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years, because they suited his genius. When, therefore, he was laughed at, long after, in company where free scope was given to raillery, by persons who passed as more accomplished in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity: "'Tis true I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

Stesimbrotus, indeed, informs us that Themistocles studied natural philosophy, both under Anaxagoras and Melissus; but in this he errs against chronology;[3] for when Pericles, who was much younger

1 It was a law at Athens, that every citizen who had a foreigner to his mother should be deemed a bastard, though born in wedlock, and should consequently be incapable of inheriting his father's estate.

2 The Lycomedæ were a family in Athens, who (according to Pausanias) had the care of the sacrifices offered to Ceres; and in that chapel which Theseus rebuilt, initiations and other mysteries were celebrated.

3 Anaxagoras was born in the first year of the 70th olympiad; Themistocles won the battle of Salamis the first year of the 75th olympiad; and Melissus defended Samos against Pericles the last year of the 84th olympiad. Themistocles, therefore, could neither study under Anaxagoras, who was only twenty years old when that general gained the battle of Salamis, nor yet under Melissus, who did not begin to flourish till 36 years after that battle.

than Themistocles, besieged Samos, Melissus defended it, and Anaxagoras lived with Pericles. Those seem to deserve more attention who say that Themistocles was a follower of Mnesiphilus the Phrearian, who was neither orator nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom,[1] which consisted in a knowledge of the arts of government, and the practical part of political prudence. This was a sect formed upon the principles of Solon,[2] and descending in succession from him; but when the science of government came to be mixed with forensic arts, and passed from action to mere words, its professors, instead of sages were called sophists.[3] Themistocles, however, was conversant in public business, when he attended the lectures of Mnesiphilus.

In the first sallies of youth he was irregular and unsteady, as he followed his own disposition, without any moral restraints. He lived in extremes, and these extremes were often of the worst kind.[4] But he seemed to apologize for this afterwards, when he observed, that *the wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be properly broke and managed.* The stories, however, which some tell us—of his father's disinheriting him, and his mother's laying violent hands upon herself, because she could not bear the thoughts of her son's infamy—seem to be quite fictitious. Others, on the contrary, say that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, shewed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea shore, just as the populace neglect their leaders when they have no farther service for them.

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, with an ambition of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the state, particularly with Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who always opposed him. Their enmity began early, but the cause, as Ariston the philosopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Ptesileus of Teos. After this their disputes continued about public affairs; and the dissimilarity of their lives and manners naturally added to it. Aristides was of a mild temper and of great probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible justice, not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or to promote his

[1] The first sages were in reality great politicians, who gave rules and precepts for the government of communities. Thales was the first who carried his speculations into physics.

[2] During the space of about 120 years.

[3] The Sophists were rather rhetoricians than philosophers, skilled in words, but superficial in knowledge, as Diogenes Laertius informs us. Protagoras, who flourished about the 84th olympiad, a little before the birth of Plato, was the first who had the appellation of *Sophist*. But Socrates, who was more conversant in morality than in politics, physics, or rhetoric, and who was desirous to improve the world rather in practice than in theory, modestly took the name of *Philosophus*, i.e., *a lover of wisdom*, and not that of *Sophos*, i.e., *a sage or wise man*.

[4] Idomeneus says, that one morning Themistocles harnessed four naked courtezans in a chariot, and made them draw him across the Ceramicus in the sight of all the people who were there assembled; and that at a time when the Athenians were perfect strangers to debauchery, either in wine or women. But if that vice was then so little known in Athens, how could there be found four prostitutes impudent enough to be exposed in that manner.

own glory, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was, therefore, necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprises, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themistocles was so carried away with the love of glory, so immoderately desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action, that though he was very young when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was everywhere extolled, yet even then he was observed to keep much alone, to be very pensive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments. When he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said. *The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep.* While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts;[1] and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against those conflicts, because he foresaw them at a distance.[2]

And in the first place, whereas the Athenians had used to share the revenue of the silver mines of Laurium among themselves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that they should divide them in that manner no longer, but build with them a number of galleys to be employed in the war against the Æginetæ, who then made a considerable figure in Greece, and by means of their numerous navy were masters of the sea. By seasonably stirring up the resentment and emulation of his countrymen against these islanders,[3] he the more easily prevailed with them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had no great apprehensions. With this money 100 galleys with three banks of oars were built, which afterwards fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, and to convince them that, though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus of good land-forces, as Plato says, *he made them mariners and seamen*, and brought upon himself the aspersion of taking from his

1 He did not question but Darius would at length perceive that the only way to deal with the Greeks was to attack them vigorously by sea, where they could make the least opposition.

2 The two principal qualifications of a general are, a quick and comprehensive view of what is to be done upon any present emergency, and a happy foresight of what is to come: Themistocles possessed both these qualifications in a great degree.

3 Plutarch in this place follows Herodotus. But Thucydides is express, that Themistocles availed himself of both these arguments, the apprehensions which the Athenians were under of the return of the Persians, as well as the war against the Æginetæ. Indeed he could not neglect so powerful an inducement to strengthen themselves at sea, since, according to Plato, accounts were daily brought of the formidable preparations of Darius; and, upon his death, it appeared that Xerxes, King of Persia, inherited all his father's rancour against the Greeks.

countrymen the spear and the shield, and sending them to the bench and the oar. Stesimbrotus writes, that Themistocles effected this in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether by this proceeding he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation not proper to be indulged here. But that the Greeks owed their safety to these naval applications, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed (to omit other proofs), Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness. For after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians though his land-forces remained entire; and it seems to me, that he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit than with any hope of his bringing Greece into subjection.

Some authors write, that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money with a view to spend it profusely; and indeed, for his frequent sacrifices, and the splendid manner in which he entertained strangers, he had need of a large supply. Yet others on the contrary, accuse him of meanness and attention to trifles, and say he even sold presents that were made him for his table. Nay, when he begged a colt of Philides, who was a breeder of horses, and was refused, he threatened *he would soon make a Trojan horse of his house*, enigmatically hinting that he would raise up troubles and impeachments against him from some of his own family.

In ambition, however, he had no equal. For when he was yet young and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house, hoping by this means to draw a great number of people thither. And when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon in the elegance of his table, the splendour of his pavilions, and other expenses of his train. These things, however, were not agreeable to the Greeks. They looked upon them as suitable to a young man of a noble family; but when an obscure person set himself up so much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy[1] too, at his own expense, and gained the prize with his tragedians, at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great avidity and emulation. In memory of his success he put up this inscription—*Themistocles the Phrearian exhibited the tragedy. Phrynichus composed it.*[2] *Adimantus presided.* This gained him popularity; and what added to it, was his charging his memory with the names of the citizens, so that he readily called each by his own. He was an impartial judge, too, in the causes that

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[1] Tragedy at this time was just arrived at perfection; and so great a taste had the Athenians for this kind of entertainment, that the principal persons in the commonwealth could not oblige them more than by exhibiting the best tragedy with the most elegant decorations. Public prizes were appointed for those that excelled in this respect; and it was matter of great emulation to gain them.

[2] Phrynichus was the disciple of Thespis, who was esteemed the inventor of tragedy. He was the "first that brought female actors upon the stage." His chief plays were Actæon, Alcestis, and the Danaides. Æschylus was his contemporary

were brought before him; and Simonides of Ceos[1] making an unreasonable request to him when *archon*, he answered, *Neither would you be a good poet if you transgressed the rules of harmony; nor I a good magistrate if I granted your petition contrary to law.* Another time he rallied Simonides for *his absurdity in abusing the Corinthians who inhabited so elegant a city; and having his own picture drawn when he had so ill favoured an aspect.*

At length having attained to a great height of power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the banishment of Aristides by the *Ostracism.*[2]

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians considered who should be their general, and many (we are told) thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary considerations to drop his pretensions.

His behaviour is also commended with respect to the interpreter who came with the king of Persia's ambassadors that were sent to demand earth and water.[3] By a decree of the people he put him to death, for presuming to make use of the Greek language to express the demands of the barbarians. To this we may add, his proceedings in the affair of Arthmius the Zelite,[4] who, at his motion, was declared infamous, with his children and all his posterity, for bringing Persian gold into Greece. But that which redounded most of all to his honour, was his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the several states to each other, and persuading them to lay aside their animosities during the war with Persia. In this he is said to have been much assisted by Chileus the Arcadian.

As soon as he had taken the command upon him, he endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance from Greece as possible. But many opposing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians.

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[1] Simonides celebrated the battles of Marathon and Salamis in his poems; and was the author of several odes and elegies: some of which are still extant and well known. He was much in the favour of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Hiero, king of Sicily. Plato had so high an opinion of his merit, that he gave him the epithet of *Divine*. He died in the first year of the 78th olympiad, at almost 90 years of age; so that he was very near 80 when he described the battle of Salamis.

[2] It is not certain by whom the *Ostracism* was introduced; some say, by Pisistratus, or rather by his sons; others, by Clisthenes; and others make it as ancient as the time of Theseus. By this, men who became powerful to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years: and they were to quit the Athenian territories in ten days.

[3] This was a demand of submission. But Herodotus assures us, that Xerxes did not send such an embassy to the Athenians; the ambassadors of his father Darius were treated with great indignity when they made that demand; for the Athenians threw them into a ditch and told them, "There was earth and water enough."

[4] Arthmius was of Zela, a town in Asia Minor, but settled at Athens. He was not only declared infamous for bringing in Persian gold, and endeavouring to corrupt with it some of the principal Athenians, but banished by sound of trumpet.

When he returned without effecting anything, the Thessalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country as far as Boeotia following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium.[1]

When the fleets of the several states were joined, and the majority were of opinion that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians began the engagement, the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united,[2] thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles, perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that time, gave up the command to Eurybiades and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them, that if they behaved like men in the war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to owe her preservation, and the Athenians in particular the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphæta, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were 200 more sailing round Sciathus. He therefore was desirous, without loss of time, to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet, for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negotiate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a sum of money. He took the money, and gave it[3] (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades. Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Architeles, captain of the *sacred galley*,[4] who had not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw, he so incensed his countrymen against him, that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship, and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, and desired him to refresh himself that evening, and

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[1] At the same time that the Greeks thought of defending the pass of Thermopylæ by land, they sent a fleet to hinder the passage of the Persian navy through the straits of Euboea, which fleet rendezvoused at Artemisium.

[2] Herodotus tells us in the beginning of his eighth book, that the Athenians furnished 127 vessels, and that the whole complement of the rest of the Greeks amounted to no more than 151; of which 20 belonged likewise to the Athenians, who had lent them to the Chalcidians.

[3] According to Herodotus, the affair was thus. The Eubœans, not being able to prevail with Eurybiades to remain on their coast till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to Themistocles, and made him a present of 30 talents. He took the money; and with 5 talents bribed Eurybiades. Then Adiamanthus the Corinthian, being the only commander who insisted upon weighing anchor, Themistocles went on board him, and told him in few words: "Adiamanthus, you shall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater present for doing your duty than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting the allies." Which he performed by sending him 3 talents on board. Thus he did what the Eubœans requested, and saved 22 talents for himself.

[4] The *sacred galley* was that which the Athenians sent every year to Delos with sacrifices for Apollo; and they pretend it was the same in which Theseus carried the tribute to Crete.

to satisfy his crew in the morning, otherwise, he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy. This particular is mentioned by Phanias the Lesbian.

Though the several engagements[1] with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive, yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have anything dreadful in them to men that know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. Those things they were taught to despise when they came to close action and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium—

'Twas then that Athens the foundation laid Of Liberty's fair structure.

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

Artemisium is a maritime place of Eubœa, to the north of Hestiæa. Over against it lies Olizon, in the territory that formerly was subject to Philoctetes; where there is a small temple of Diana of the *East*, in the midst of a grove. The temple is encircled with pillars of white stone, which, when rubbed with the hand, has both the colour and smell of saffron. On one of the pillars are inscribed the following verses:—

When on the seas the sons of Athens conquered
The various powers of Asia: grateful here
They rear'd this temple to Diana.

There is a place still to be seen upon the shore, where there is a large heap of sand, which, if dug into, shews towards the bottom a black dust like ashes, as if some fire had been there; and this is supposed to have been that in which the wrecks of the ships and the bodies of the dead were burned.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium,[2] when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passages by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians, elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the

[1] They came to three several engagements within three days; in the last of which, Clinoes, the father of Alcibiades, performed wonders. He had, at his own expense, fitted out a ship which carried 200 men.

[2] The last engagement at Thermopylæ, wherein Xerxes forced the passes of the mountains by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, Thespians, and Thebans, who had been left to guard them, happened on the same day with the battle at Artemisium; and the news of it was brought to Themistocles by an Athenian called Abronichus. Though the action at Thermopylæ had not an immediate relation to Themistocles, yet it would have tended more to the glory of that general if Plutarch had taken greater notice of it; since the advantage gained there by Xerxes, opened Greece to him, and rendered him much more formidable. Thermopylæ is a narrow pass in the mountains near the Euripus.

Ionians. "Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder in time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And, notwithstanding all the entreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as *they* had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the *Isthmus*, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present; and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitude,[1] set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of, was the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the priests finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received,[2] he told them that by *wooden walls* there could not possibly be anything meant but ships; and that Apollo, now calling Salamis *divine*, not *wretched* and *unfortunate*, as formerly, signified by such an epithet, that it would be produc-

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1 He prevailed so effectually at last, that the Athenians stoned Cyrsilus, an orator, who vehemently opposed him, and urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and the affection to wives and helpless infants. The women too, to shew how far they were from desiring that the cause of Greece should suffer for them, stoned his wife.

2 This was the second oracle which the Athenian deputies received from Aristonice priestess of Apollo. Many were of opinion that by the walls of wood, which she advised them to have recourse to, was meant the citadel, because it was palisaded; but others thought it could intend nothing but ships. The maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the last line but one of the oracle, was directly against him, and that, without question, it portended the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themistocles alleged in answer, that if the oracle had intended to foretell the destruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in the oracle were styled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the Persians, who were scandalously effeminate. HERODOT. l. viii. c. 143, 144.

tive of some great advantage to Greece. His councils prevailed, and he proposed a decree, that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva,[1] the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships; and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene,[2] where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Trœzenians came to a resolution to maintain them at the public expense, for which purpose they allowed each of them two *oboli* a day; they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and provided for their education by paying their tutors. This order was procured by Nicagoras.

As the treasury of Athens was then but low, Aristotle informs us that the court of *Areopagus* distributed to every man who took part in the expedition eight *drachmas;* which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this also to a stratagem of Themistocles; for he tells us, that when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the *Ægis* was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked everything, under pretence of searching for it, found large sums of money hid among the baggage, which he applied to the public use; and out of it all necessaries were provided for the fleet.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity! what admiration of the firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, because of their extreme old age. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore, with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leapt into the sea, and to have swam by the side of the ship, till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately. And they shew us to this day, a place called *Synos Sema*, where they tell us the dog was buried.

To these great actions of Themistocles may be added the following: He perceived that Aristides was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive that out of revenge he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he therefore caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a time, should have leave to return, and by their

1 But how was this when he had before told the people that Minerva had forsaken the city.

2 Theseus, the great hero in Athenian history, was originally of Trœzene.

counsel and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger,[1] he proposed to set sail for the *Isthmus*, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion, deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said,[2] "Do not you know, Themistocles, that in the public games, such as rise up before their turn, are chastised for it." "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff, as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "*Strike, if you please, but hear me.*" The Lacedæmonians admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say; and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him: "It ill becomes you who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus: "Wretch that thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing for the sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we have still the most respectable city of Greece in these 200 ships, which are here ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as free a city,[3] and as valuable a country as that which they have quitted." These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told also, that as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles said, "What! have you, too, something to say about war, who are like the fish that has a sword, but no heart."

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his arguments upon deck, some tell us an owl was seen flying to the right of the fleet,[4] which came and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments, began to forget the counsel of Themistocles, and the Peloponnesians once more looked towards

1 It does not appear that Eurybiades wanted courage. After Xerxes had gained the pass of Thermopylæ, it was the general opinion of the chief officers of the confederate fleet assembled in council (except those of Athens), that their only resource was to build a strong wall across the Isthmus, and to defend Peloponnesus against the Persians.

2 Herodotus says, this conversation passed between Adimantus, general of the Corinthians, and Themistocles: but Plutarch relates it with more probability of Eurybiades, who was commander-in-chief.

3 The address of Themistocles is very much to be admired. If Eurybiades was really induced by his fears to return to the Isthmus, the Athenian took a right method to remove those fears, by suggesting greater: for what other free country could he intimate that the people of Athens would acquire, but that, when driven from their own city, in their distress and despair, they might seize the state of Sparta.

4 The owl was sacred to Minerva the protectress of the Athenians.

the *Isthmus*. Nay, they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles, greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits,[1] and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles and the tutor of his children. On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to tell him that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks, and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape; but while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole army.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with 200 ships, to surround all the passages, and to enclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first that perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means, he went to him and told him they were surrounded by the enemy.[2] Themistocles, knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station: and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Parætius, came over from the enemy to bring the same account; so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to their combat.[3]

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but according to Accesto-

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[1] If the confederates had quitted the Straits of Salamis, where they could equal the Persians in the line of battle, such of the Athenians as were in that island must have become an easy prey to the enemy; and the Persians would have found an open sea on the Peloponnesian coast, where they could act with all their force against the ships of the allies.

[2] Aristides was not then in the confederate fleet, but in the isle of Ægina, from whence he sailed by night, with great hazard, through the Persian fleet, to carry this intelligence.

[3] The different conduct of the Spartans and the Athenians on this occasion, seems to shew how much superior the accommodating laws of Solon were to the austere discipline of Lycurgus. Indeed, while the institutions of the latter remained in force, the Lacedæmonians were the greatest of all people. But that was impossible. The severity of Lycurgus's legislation naturally tended to destroy it. Nor was this all. From the extremes of abstemious hardships, the next step was not to a moderate enjoyment of life, but to all the licentiousness of the most effeminate luxury. "The laws of Lycurgus made men of the Spartan women; when they were broken, they made women of the men."

dorus, on the confines of Megara, upon a spot called *Kerata, the horns*. He was seated on a throne of gold,[1] and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the meantime, as Themistocles was sacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired, and set off with golden ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Autarctus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. Euphrantide, the soothsayer, casting his eye upon them, and at the same time observing that a bright flame blazed out from the victims,[2] while a sneezing was heard from the right, took Themistocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus *Omastes*,[3] for by this means the Greeks might be assured, not only of safety, but victory.

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who, in great and pressing difficulties, trust rather to absurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice, and leading the captives to the altar, insisted upon their being offered up, as the soothsayer had directed. This particular we have from Phanias the Lesbian, a man not unversed in letters and philosophy.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus speaks of it in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*, as a matter he was well assured of:

> A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
> The Persian fleet obeyed: two hundred more
> And seven, o'erspread the seas.

The Athenians had only 180 galleys; each carried 18 men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it; for he would not engage the enemy till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy; for it caused them to veer in such a manner, that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute, great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed.

[1] This throne, or seat, whether of gold or silver, or both, was taken and carried to Athens, where it was consecrated in the temple of the Minerva, with the golden sabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Platæa.

[2] A bright flame was always considered as a fortunate omen, whether it were a real one (what issuing from an altar, or a seeming one we call shell-fire) from the head of a living person. Virgil mentions one of the latter sort, which appeared about the head of Julus and Plutus, another that was seen about the head of Servius Tullius. A sneezing on the right hand, too, was deemed a lucky omen both by the Greeks and Latins.

[3] In the same manner, Chios, Tenedos, and Lesbos, offered human sacrifices to Bacchus, surnamed Omadius. But this is the sole instance we know of among the Athenians.

Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distiguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts and shot forth arrows as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the *Decelean*, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen beaks; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia[1] knew the body amongst others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging, we are told a great light appeared, as from Eleusis; and loud sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession.[2] A cloud, too, seemed to rise from among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees, till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also, and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw, stretching out their hands from Ægina before the Grecian fleet. These they conjectured to be the *Æacidæ*,[3] to whom, before the battle, they had addressed their prayers for succour.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the *laurelled* Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which, as Simonides says, *no other naval achievement, either of the Greeks or barbarians, ever was more glorious.* This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.[4]

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent, by a mole so well secured, that his land forces might pass over it into the island, and

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[1] Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled; which Xerxes observing, cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of 10,000 drachmas to any one that should take her alive. This princess must not be confounded with that Artemisia, who was the wife of Mausolus, king of Caria.

[2] Herodotus says, these voices were heard, and this vision seen, some days before the battle, while the Persian land forces were ravaging the territories of Attica. Dicæus, an Athenian exile, (who hoped thereby to procure a mitigation of his country's fate,) was the first that observed the thing, and carried an account of it to Xerxes.

[3] A vessel had been sent to Ægina to implore the assistance of Æacus and his descendants. Æacus was the son of Jupiter, and had been king of Ægina. He was so remarkable for his justice, that his prayers, whilst he lived, are said to have procured great advantages to the Greeks: and, after his death, it was believed that he was appointed one of the three judges in the infernal regions.

[4] In this battle, which was one of the most memorable we find in history, the Grecians lost forty ships, and the Persians two hundred, besides a great many more that were taken.

that he might shut up the pass entirely against the Greeks. At the same time, Themistocles, to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion that they should sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge of ships: "For so," says he, "we may take Asia, without stirring out of Europe." Aristides[1] did not in the least relish his proposal, but answered him to this purpose: "Till now we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury; but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces will no longer sit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but, awaked by danger, attempting everything, and present everywhere, he will correct his past errors, and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge, we should, if possible, provide another, that he may retire the sooner out of Europe." "If that is the case," said Themistocles, "we must all consider and contrive how to put him upon the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

This being resolved upon, he sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea, were determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten towards his own seas, and pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavoured to find out pretences of delay, to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation.[2] How prudent the management of Themistocles and Aristides was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when, with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all, in the battle of Platæa.

Herodotus tells us that among the cities Ægina bore away the palm; but among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most; for, when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar,[3] to inscribe upon it the names of those *that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second.* The Lacedæmonians having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered 300 of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games too, we are told, that as soon as Themis-

[1] According to Herodotus, it was not Aristides, but Eurybiades, who made this reply to Themistocles.

[2] Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Greece with an army of 300,000 men, marched with the rest towards Thrace, in order to cross the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared beforehand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted 45 days. The king, finding they were not in a condition to pursue their route so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue; but when he arrived at the Hellespont, he found his bridge of boats broken down by the violence of the storms, and "was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing boat." From the Hellespont he continued his flight to Sardis.

[3] The altar of Neptune This solemnity was designed to make them give their judgment impartially, as in the presence of the gods.

tocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends, that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

Indeed, he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings.

For when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not despatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs till the day he was to embark, that having a great deal to do, he might appear with the greatest dignity and importance.

One day as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, *Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles.*

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he said, *Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time, though a little too late.*

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour or sincere respect; but when a storm arose or danger appeared, they sheltered themselves under him as under a plane-tree, which, when the weather was fair again, they would rob of its leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not so much honoured for his own sake, but for his country's," "True," answered Themistocles, "for neither should I have been greatly distinguished if I had been of Seriphus, nor you, if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he answered him with this fable: "There once happened a dispute between the *feast day* and the *day after the feast:* says the *day after the feast,* I am full of bustle and trouble, whereas with you, folks enjoy at their ease everything ready provided. You say right, says the *feast day,* but if I had not been before you, you would not have been at all. *So, had it not been for me then, where would you have been now?*"[1]

His son being master of his mother, and by her means of him, he said laughing, "This child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in everything, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, *that it had a good neighbour.*

Two citizens courting his daughter, he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and assigned this reason—*He had rather she should have a man without money, than money without a man.* Such was the pointed manner in which he often expressed himself.[2]

[1] There is the genuine Attic salt in most of these retorts and observations of Themistocles. His wit seems to have been equal to his military and political capacity.

[2] Cicero has preserved another of his sayings, which deserves mentioning. When Simonides offered to teach Themistocles the art of memory, he answered, "Ah! rather teach me the art of forgetting; for I often remember what I would not, and cannot forget what I would."

After the great actions we have related, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens. Theopompus tells us, he bribed the Lacedæmonian *Ephori* that they might not oppose it; but most historians say he over-reached them. He was sent, it seems, on pretence of an embassy to Sparta. The Spartans complained that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls, at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation. For the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus (having observed the conveniency of that harbour), by which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this respect his politics were very different from those of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, used their endeavours to draw the attention of their subjects from the business of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground; and to this purpose they published the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive-tree before the judges, gained her cause. Themistocles did not bring the Piræus into the city, as Aristophanes the comic poet would have it; but he joined the city by a line of communication to the Piræus, and the land to the sea. This measure strengthened the people against the nobility, and made them bolder and more untractable, as power came with wealth into the hands of masters of ships, mariners, and pilots. Hence it was that the oratory in *Pnyx*, which was built to front the sea, was afterwards turned by the 30 tyrants towards the land,[1] for *they believed a maritime power inclinable to a democracy, whereas persons employed in agriculture would be less uneasy under an oligarchy.*

Themistocles had something still greater in view for strengthening the Athenians by sea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagasæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full assembly, "That he had hit upon a design which might greatly contribute to their advantage, but it was not fit to be communicated to their whole body." The Athenians ordered him to communicate it to Aristides only,[2] and if he approved of it, to put it in execution. Themistocles then informed him, "That he had thoughts of burning the confederate fleet at Pagasæ." Upon which Aristides went and declared to the people, "That the enterprise which Themistocles proposed was indeed the most advantageous in the world, but

[1] The 30 tyrants were established at Athens by Lysander, 403 years B.C., and 77 years after the battle of Salamis.

[2] How glorious this testimony of the public regard to Aristides, from a people then so free, and withal so virtuous!

at the same time the most unjust." The Athenians, therefore, commanded him to lay aside all thoughts of it.[1]

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the assembly of the *Amphyctyons*, to exclude from that council all those states that had not joined in the confederacy against the king of Persia. But Themistocles was apprehensive that if the Thessalians, the Argives, and Thebans were expelled from the council, the Lacedæmonians would have a great majority of voices, and consequently procure what decrees they pleased. He spoke therefore in defence of those states, and brought the deputies off from that design, by representing that 31 cities only had their share of the burden of that war, and that the greatest part of these were of but small consideration; that consequently it would be both unreasonable and dangerous to exclude the rest of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be dictated to by two or three great cities. By this he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians who, for this reason, set up Cimon against him as a rival in all affairs of state, and used all their interest for his advancement.

He disobliged the allies also, by sailing round the islands, and extorting money from them, as we may conclude from the answer which Herodotus tells us the Adrians gave him to a demand of that sort. He told them "He brought two gods along with him, *Persuasion* and *Force*." They replied, "They had also two great gods on their side, *Poverty* and *Despair*, who forbade them to satisfy him." Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, writes with great bitterness against Themistocles, and charges him with betraying him though his friend and host, for money, while for the like paltry consideration, he procured the return of other exiles. So in these verses—

> Pausanias you may praise, and you Xantippus,
> And you, Leotychidas: But sure the hero,
> Who bears the Athenian palm, is Aristides.
> What is the false, the vain, Themistocles?
> The very light is grudg'd him by Latona,
> Who for vile pelf betrayed Timocreon,
> His friend and host; nor gave him to behold
> His dear Jalysus. For three talents more
> sail'd and left him on a foreign coast.
> What fatal end awaits the man that kills,
> That banishes, that sets the villain up,
> To fill his glittering stores? While ostentation,
> With vain airs, fain would boast the generous hand,
> And, at the Isthmus, spreads a public board
> For crowds that eat, and curse him at the banquet.

But Timocreon gave a still looser rein to his abuse of Themistocles, after the condemnation and banishment of that great man, in a poem which begins thus:

> Muse crown'd with glory, bear this faithful strain, Far as the Grecian name extends

[1] It is hardly possible for the military and political genius of Themistocles to save him from contempt and detestation, when we arrive at this part of his conduct—a serious proposal to burn the confederate fleet! That fleet, whose united efforts had saved Greece from destruction!—which had fought under his auspices with such irresistible valour! —that sacred fleet, the minutest part of which should have been religiously preserved, or if consumed, consumed only on the altars, and in the service of the gods! How diabolical is that policy, which, in its way to power, tramples on humanity, justice, and gratitude.

Timocreon is said to have been banished by Themistocles for favouring the Persians. When, therefore, Themistocles was accused of the same traitorous inclinations, he wrote against him as follows:

> Timocreon's honour to the Medes is sold,
> Yet not his alone: Another for Finds the same fields to prey in.

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often forced to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable; and when they expressed their displeasure, he said, *Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hand?*

Another offence he gave the people was his building a temple to Diana under the name of *Aristobule*, or Diana *of the best counsel*, intimating that he had given the best counsel, not only to Athens, but to all Greece. He built this temple near his own house, in the quarter of Melita, where now the executioners cast out the bodies of those that have suffered death, and where they throw the halters and clothes of such as have been strangled or otherwise put to death. There was, even in our times, a statue of Themistocles in this temple of Diana *Aristobule*, from which it appeared that his aspect was as heroic as his soul.

At last the Athenians, unable any longer to bear that high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the *Ostracism;* and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burden to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires; for the *Ostracism*, or *ten years' banishment*, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos,[1] the affair of Pausanias gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person that accused him of treason was Leobotes, the son of Alcmæon, of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles though he was his friend; but when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate his designs to him, showing him the King of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks, as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected the solicitations of Pausanias, and refused to have the least share in his designs;

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1 The great Pausanias, who had beaten the Persians in the battle of Platæa, and who, on many occasions, had behaved with great generosity as well as moderation, at last degenerated: and fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, in hopes, through their interest, to make himself sovereign of Greece. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions, he fell into the manners of the Persians, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond. The *Ephori* waited some time for clear proof of his treacherous designs, and when they had obtained it, determined to imprison him. But he fled into the temple of Minerva Chalcioicos, and they besieged him there. They walled up all the gates, and "his own mother laid the first stone." When they had almost starved him to death, they laid hands on him, and by the time they had got him out of the temple, he expired.

but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor let the secret transpire; whether he thought he would desist of himself, or that he would be discovered some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise without any rational hopes of success.

However, when Pausanias was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which caused no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him; and those of his fellow-citizens that envied him insisted on the charge. He could not defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians, "That he who was born to command, and incapable of servitude, could never sell himself, and Greece along with him, to enemies and barbarians." The people, however, listened to his accusers, and sent them with orders to bring him to his answer before the states of Greece. Of this he had timely notice, and passed over to the isle of Corcyra; the inhabitants of which had great obligations to him; for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians[1] to pay down 20 talents, and the isle of Leucas, to be in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. From thence he fled to Epirus; and, finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, in imploring the protection of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles in the time of his prosperity and influence in the state, the king entertained a deep resentment against him, and made no secret of his intention to revenge himself, if ever the Athenian should fall into his power. However, while he was thus flying from place to place, he was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen, than of the consequences of an old quarrel with the king; and therefore he went and put himself in his hands, appearing before him as a supplicant in a particular and extraordinary manner.[2] He took the king's son, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the household gods. This manner of offering a petition, the Molossians look upon as the most effectual, and the only one that can hardly be rejected. Some say the queen, whose name was Phthia, suggested this method of supplication to Themistocles. Others, that Admetus himself taught him to act the part, that he might have a sacred

[1] The scholiast upon Thucydides tells us, Themistocles served the people of Corcyra, in an affair of greater importance. The states of Greece were inclined to make war upon that island for not joining in the league against Xerxes; but Themistocles represented that, if they were in that manner to punish all the cities that had not acceded to the league, their proceedings would bring greater calamities upon Greece than it had suffered from the barbarians.

[2] It was nothing particular for a supplicant to do homage to the household gods of the person to whom he had a request; but to do it with the king's son in his arms was an extraordinary circumstance.

obligation to allege against giving him up to those that might come to demand him.

At that time Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him; for which Cimon afterwards condemned him and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus; yet I know not how, forgetting what he had asserted, or making Themistocles forget it, he tells us he sailed from thence to Sicily, and demanded king Hiero's daughter in marriage, promising to bring the Greeks under his subjection; and that, upon Hiero's refusal, he passed over into Asia. But this is not probable. For Theophrastus, in his treatise on Monarchy, relates that, when Hiero sent his race-horses to the Olympic games, and set up a superb pavilion there, Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull it down, and not to suffer the tyrant's horses to run. Thucydides writes, that he went by land to the Ægean sea, and embarked at Pydna; that none in the ship knew him, till he was driven by storm to Naxos, which was at that time besieged by the Athenians; that, through fear of being taken, he then informed the master of the ship, and pilot, who he was; and that partly by entreaties, partly by threatening he would declare to the Athenians, however falsely, that they knew him from the first, and were bribed to take him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor and sail for Asia.

The greatest part of his treasures was privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus says, amounted to one hundred talents, Theophrastus eighty; though he was not worth three talents before his employments in the government.[1]

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those that were determined to get money by any means whatever; for the king of Persia had offered by proclamation 200 talents for apprehending him.[2] He, therefore, retired to Ægæ, a little town of the Æolians, where he was known to nobody but Nicogenes, his host, who was a man of great wealth, and had some interest at the Persian court. In his house he was conceal'ed a few days; and, one evening after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes's children, cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration,

Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine.

After this, Themistocles went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiling round his body, and creeping up to his neck; which, as soon

[1] This is totally inconsistent with that splendour in which, according to Plutarch's own account, he lived, before he had any public appointments.

[2] The resentment of Xerxes is not at all to be wondered at, since Themistocles had not only beaten him in the battle of Salamis, but, what was more disgraceful still, had made him a dupe to his designing persuasions and representations. In the loss of victory, he had some consolation, as he was not himself the immediate cause of it, but for his ridiculous return to Asia, his anger could only fall upon himself and Themistocles.

as it had touched his face, was turned into an eagle, and covering him with its wings, took him up and carried him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble.

In consequence of this warning, he was sent away by Nicogenes, who contrived this method for it. The barbarians in general, especially the Persians, are jealous of the women even to madness; not only of their wives, but their slaves and concubines; for, besides the care they take that they shall be seen by none but their own family, they keep them like prisoners in their houses; and when they take a journey they are put in a carriage close covered on all sides. In such a carriage as this Themistocles was conveyed, the attendants being instructed to tell those they met, if they happened to be questioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from Ionia to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his son[1] Artaxerxes that Themistocles addressed himself. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and several others, write that Xerxes himself was then upon the throne. The opinion of Thucydides seems most agreeable to chronology, though that is not perfectly well settled. Themistocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to Artabanus,[2] a military officer, and told him, "He was a Greek, who desired to have audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart." Artabanus answered, "The laws of men are different; some esteem one thing honourable, and some another; but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you, the thing most admired is said to be liberty and equality. We have many excellent laws; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable, to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that deity who preserves and supports the universe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may be permitted to see him and speak to him. But if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business by a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country, for the king to admit any one to audience that does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied, "My business, Artabanus, is to add to the king's honour and power; therefore I will comply with your customs, since the god that has exalted the Persians will have it so; and by my means the number of the king's worshippers shall be increased. So let this be no hindrance to my communicating to the king what I have to say." "But who," said Artabanus, "shall we say you are? for by your discourse you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, "Nobody must know that before the king himself." So Phanias writes; and Eratosthenes, in his treatise on riches, adds,

[1] Themistocles, therefore, arrived at the Persian court in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, 462 years B.C.; for that was the first year of Artaxerxes's reign.

[2] Son of that Artabanus, captain of the guards, who slew Xerxes, and persuaded Artaxerxes to cut off his elder brother Darius.

that Themistocles was brought acquainted with Artabanus, and recommended to him by an Eretrian woman, who belonged to that officer.

When he was introduced to the king, and, after his prostration, stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was. The interpreter accordingly put the question, and he answered, "The man that is now come to address himself to you, O king, is Themistocles the Athenian; an exile persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me, but it has been more than compensated by my preventing your being pursued: when after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or, if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by submission. Reject not the testimony my enemies have given to the services I have done the Persians, and make use of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to shew your generosity than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant; if you destroy me, you destroy the enemy of Greece."[1] In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision he had in Nicogenes's house, and an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, which ordered him *to go to one who bore the same name with the god:* from which he concluded he was sent to him, since both were called, and really were, *great kings.*

The king gave him no answer, though he admired his courage and magnanimity; but, with his friends, he felicitated himself upon this, as the most fortunate event imaginable. We are also told, that he prayed to *Arimanius*,[2] that his enemies might ever be so infatuated as to drive from amongst them their ablest men; that he offered sacrifice to the gods; and immediately after made a great entertainment; nay, that he was so affected with joy, that when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep, he called out three times, *I have Themistocles the Athenian.*

As soon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards, at the first hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat, and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered to him with a sigh, *Ah! thou subtle serpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee hither.* However, when he had prostrated himself twice in the presence, the king saluted him, and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him 200 talents; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just that he should receive the reward offered to any one that should bring him. He promised him much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered

1 How extremely abject and contemptible is this petition, wherein the suppliant founds every argument in his favour upon his vices.

2 The god of darkness, the supposed author of plagues and calamities, was called *Ahriman* or *Arimanius.*

him to declare freely whatever he had to propose concerning Greece. Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry[1] which, when spread open, displays its figures; but when it is folded up, they are hidden and lost; therefore he begged time." The king, delighted with the comparison, bade him take what time he pleased; and he desired a year: in which space he learned the Persian language, so as to be able to converse with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court, believed that he entertained their prince on the subject of the Grecian affairs; but as there were then many changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to speak too freely of them to the king. The honours that were paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced; the king took him with him a hunting, conversed familiarly with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the *Magi*.

Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that he might be carried through Sardis in royal state,[2] with a diadem upon his head. But Mithropaustes, the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand, and said, *Demaratus, this diadem does not carry brains along with it to cover; nor would you be* Jupiter, *though you should take hold of his thunder.* The king was highly displeased at Demaratus for making this request, and seemed determined never to forgive him; yet, at the desire of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled to him. And in the following reigns, when the affairs of Persia and Greece were more closely connected, as oft as the king requested a favour of any Grecian captain, they are said to have promised him, in express terms, *That he should be a greater man at their court than Themistocles had been.* Nay, we are told, that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children, and said, *Children, we should have been undone, had it not been for our undoing.* Most authors agree, that he had three cities given him, for bread, wine, and meat—Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus.[3]

1 In this he artfully conformed to the figurative manner of speaking in use among the eastern nations.

2 This was the highest mark of honour which the Persian kings could give. Ahasuerus, the same with Xerxes, the father of this Artaxerxes, had not long before ordained that Mordecai should be honoured in that manner.

3 The country about Magnesia was so fertile, that it brought Themistocles a revenue of 50 talents; Lampsacus had in its neighbourhood the noblest vineyards of the east; and Myus or Myon abounded in provisions, particularly in fish. It was usual with the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces. Even such provinces as the kings retained the revenue of, were under particular assignments; one province furnishing so much for wine, another for victuals, a third the privy purse, and a fourth for the wardrobe. One of the queens had all Egypt for her clothing; and Plato tells us (1 Alcibiad.) that many of the provinces were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her head dress, and so of the rest; and each province bore the name of that part of the dress it was to furnish.

Neanthes of Cyzicus, and Phanias, add two more, Percote and Palæscepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

Some business relative to Greece having brought him to the sea-coast, a Persian, named Epixyes, governor of Upper Phrygia, who had a design upon his life, and had long prepared certain Pisidians to kill him, when he should lodge in a city called Leontocephalus, or *Lion's Head*, now determined to put it in execution. But, as he lay sleeping one day at noon, the mother of the gods is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and thus to have addressed him: "Beware, Themistocles, of the Lion's Head, lest the Lion crush you. For this warning I require of you Mnesiptolema for my servant." Themistocles awoke in great disorder, and when he had devoutly returned thanks to the goddess, left the high road, and took another way, to avoid the place of danger. At night he took up his lodgings beyond it; but as one of the horses that had carried his tent had fallen into a river, and his servants were busied in spreading the wet hangings to dry, the Pisidians, who were advancing with their swords drawn, saw these hangings indistinctly by moonlight, and taking them for the tent of Themistocles, expected to find him reposing himself within. They approached, therefore, and lifted up the hangings; but the servants that had the care of them, fell upon them, and took them. The danger thus avoided, Themistocles admiring the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, built a temple in Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele *Dindymene* and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema priestess of it.

When he was come to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking upon the ornaments of the temples; and among the great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele, a female figure of brass two cubits high, called *Hydrophorus* or the *water bearer*, which he himself, when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated out of the fines of such as had stolen the water, or diverted the stream. Whether it was that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous to shew the Athenians how much he was honoured,[1] and what power he had all over the king's dominions, he addressed himself to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to send back the statue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and said he would certainly acquaint the king what sort of a request he had made him. Themistocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and, by money, prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this, he behaved with more prudence, sensible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Persians. Hence, he did not travel about

Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia; where, loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in great security; for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was supported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, then the king of Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and dispatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises, and exert himself against Greece. Did he not obey the summons then?—No—neither resentment against the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to take the direction of the expedition. Possibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then several great generals: and Cimon in particular was distinguished with extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own achievements, and the trophies he had gained, whose glory he was unwilling to tarnish, determined him (as the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity.[1] Having therefore, sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bull's blood,[2] as is generally reported; or, as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations.[3]

Themistocles had by Archippe, the daughter of Lysander of Alopece, five sons, Neocles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctes, and Cleophantus. The three last survived him. Plato takes notice of Cleophantus as an excellent horseman, but a man of no merit in other respects. Neocles, his eldest son, died when a child, by the bite of a horse; and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters, namely, Mnesiptolema, by a second wife, who was married to Archeptolis, her half-brother; Italia, whose husband was Panthides of Chios; Sibaris, married to Nicomedes the Athenian; and Nichomache, at Magnesia, to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who after her father's death, took a voyage for that purpose, received her at the hands of her brothers, and brought up her sister Asia, the youngest of the children.

1 Thucydides, who was contemporary with Themistocles, only says, "He died of a distemper; but some report that he poisoned himself, seeing it impossible to accomplish what he had promised to the king." THUCYD. de Bell. Peloponn. l. i.

2 Whilst they were sacrificing the bull, he caused the blood to be received in a cup, and drank it whilst it was warm, which (according to Pliny) is mortal, because it coagulates or thickens in an instant.

3 There is, in our opinion, more true heroism in the death of Themistocles than in the death of Cato. It is something enthusiastically great when a man determines not to survive his liberty; but it is something still greater, when he refuses to survive his honour.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him, which still remains in the market-place. No credit is to be given to Andocides, who writes to his friends, that the Athenians stole his ashes out of the tomb, and scattered them in the air; for it is an artifice of his to exasperate the nobility against the people. Phylarchus, too, more like a writer of tragedy than an historian, availing himself of what may be called a piece of machinery, introduces Neocles and Demopolis, the sons of Themistocles, to make his story the more interesting and pathetic. But a very moderate degree of sagacity may discover it to be a fiction. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes in his Treatise of Sepulchres, but rather by conjecture than certain knowledge, that, near the harbour of Piræus, from the promontory of Alcimus,[1] the land makes an elbow, and when you have doubled it inwards, by the still water there is a vast foundation, upon which stands the tomb of Themistocles,[2] in the form of an altar. With him Plato, the comic writer, is supposed to agree in the following lines:

> Oft as the merchant speeds the passing sail,
> Thy tomb, Themistocles, he stops to hail;
> When hostile ships in martial combat meet,
> Thy shade attending hovers o'er the fleet.

Various honours and privileges were granted by the Magnesians to the descendants of Themistocles, which continued down to our times; for they were enjoyed by one of his name, an Athenian, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Amonius the philosopher.

CIMON.

PERIPOLTAS, the diviner, who conducted king Opheltas and his subjects from Thessaly into Bœotia, left a family that flourished for many years. The greatest part of that family dwelt in Chæronea, where they first established themselves, after the expulsion of the barbarians. But as they were of a gallant and martial turn, and never spared themselves in time of action, they fell in the wars with the Medes and the Gauls. There remained only a young orphan named Damon, and surnamed Peripoltas. Damon in beauty of person and dignity of mind far exceeded all of his age, but he was of a harsh and morose temper, unpolished by education.

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1 Meursius rightly corrects it *Alimus*. We find no place in Attica called *Alcimus*, but a borough named Alimus there was, on the east of the Piræus.

2 Thucydides says, that the bones of Themistocles, by his own command, were privately carried back into Attica, and buried there. But Pausanias agrees with Theodorus, that the Athenians, repenting of their ill usage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the Piræus. It does not appear, indeed, that Themistocles, when banished, had any design either to revenge himself on Athens, or to take refuge in the court of the king of Persia. The Greeks themselves forced him upon this, or rather the Lacedæmonians; for, as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their importunities after he was banished, he was not suffered to enjoy any refuge in quiet.

He was now in the dawn of youth, when a Roman officer, who wintered with his company in Chæronea, conceived a criminal passion for him; and, as he found solicitations and presents of no avail, he was preparing to use force. It seems he despised our city, whose affairs were then in a bad situation, and whose smallness and poverty rendered it an object of no importance. As Damon dreaded some violence, and withal was highly provoked at the past attempts, he formed a design against the officer's life, and drew some of his comrades into the scheme. The number was but small, that the matter might be more private; in fact they were no more than sixteen. One night they daubed their faces over with soot, after they had drank themselves up to a pitch of elevation, and next morning fell upon the Roman as he was sacrificing in the market-place. The moment they had killed him, and a number of those that were about him, they fled out of the city. All was now in confusion. The senate of Chæronea met, and condemned the assassins to death, in order to excuse themselves to the Romans. But as the magistrates supped together according to custom, Damon and his accomplices returned in the evening, broke into the town-hall, killed every man of them, and then made off again.

It happened that Lucius Lucullus, who was going upon some expedition, marched that way. He stopped to make an inquiry into the affair, which was quite recent, and found that the city was so far from being accessory to the death of the Roman officer, that it was a considerable sufferer itself. He therefore withdrew the garrison, and took the soldiers with him.

Damon, for his part, committed depredations in the adjacent country, and greatly harassed the city. The Chæroneans endeavoured to decoy him by frequent messages and decrees in his favour: and when they had got him among them again, they appointed him master of the wrestling-ring; but soon took opportunity to despatch him as he was anointing himself in the bagnio. Our fathers tell us, that for a long time certain spectres appeared on that spot, and sad groans were heard; for which reason the doors of the bagnio were walled up. And to this very day those who live in that neighbourhood imagine that they see strange sights, and are alarmed with doleful voices. There are some remains, however, of Damon's family, who live mostly in the town of Stiris in Phocis. These are called, according to the Æolic dialect, *Asholomenoi*, that is, *Sooty-faced*, on account of their ancestor having smeared his face with soot, when he went about the assassination.

The people of Orchomenus, who were neighbours to the Chæroneans, having some prejudice against them, hired a Roman informer to accuse the city of the murder of those who fell by the hands of Damon and his associates, and to prosecute it as if it had been an individual. The cause came before the governor of Macedonia, for the Romans had not yet sent prætors into Greece; and the persons employed to plead for the city appealed to the testimony of Lucullus. Upon this the governor wrote to Lucullus, who gave a

true account of the affair, and by that means delivered Charonea from utter ruin.

Our forefathers, in gratitude for their preservation, erected a marble statue to Lucullus in the market-place, close by that of Bacchus. And though many ages have since elapsed, we are of opinion that the obligation extends even to us. We are persuaded, too, that a representation of the body is not comparable to that of the mind and the manners, and therefore in this work of lives compared, shall insert his. We shall, however, always adhere to the truth; and Lucullus will think himself sufficiently repaid by our perpetuating the memory of his actions. He cannot want, in return for his true testimony, a false and fictitious account of himself. When a painter has to draw a fine and elegant form, which happens to have some little blemish, we do not want him entirely to pass over that blemish, nor yet to mark it with exactness. The one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other destroy the likeness. So in our present work, since it is very difficult, or rather impossible, to find any life whatever without its spots and errors, we must set the good qualities in full light, with all the likeness of truth. But we consider the faults and stains that proceed, either from some sudden passion, or from political necessity, rather as defects of virtue than signs of a bad heart; and for that reason we shall cast them a little into shade, in reverence to human nature, which produces no specimen of virtue absolutely pure and perfect.

When we looked out for one to put in comparison with Cimon, Lucullus seemed the most proper person. They were both of a warlike turn, and both distinguished themselves against the barbarians. They were mild in their administration; they reconciled the contending factions in their country. They both gained great victories, and erected glorious trophies. No Grecian carried his arms to more distant countries than Cimon, or Roman, than Lucullus. Hercules and Bacchus only exceeded them; unless we add the expeditions of Perseus against the Æthiopians, Medes, and Armenians, and that of Jason against Colchis. But the scenes of these last actions are laid in such very ancient times, that we have some doubt whether the truth could reach us. This also they have in common, that they left their wars unfinished; they both pulled their enemies down, but neither of them gave them their death's blow. The principal mark, however, of likeness in their characters, is their affability and gentleness of deportment in doing the honours of their houses, and the magnificence and splendour with which they furnished their tables. Perhaps there are some other resemblances which we pass over, that may easily be collected from their history itself.

Cimon was the son Miltiades and Hegesipyla. That lady was a Thracian, and daughter to king Olorus, as it stands recorded in the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius, written in honour of Cimon. So that Thucydides the historian was his relation, for his father was called Olorus; a name that had been long in the family, and he

had gold mines in Thrace. Thucydides is said, too, to have been killed in Scapte Hyle,[1] a place in that country. His remains, however, were brought into Attica, and his monument is shewn among those of Cimon's family, near the tomb of Elpinice, sister of Cimon. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacias. Miltiades was condemned to pay a fine of 50 talents, for which he was thrown into prison by the government, and there he died. He left his son Cimon very young, and his daughter Elpinice was not yet marriageable.

Cimon, at first, was a person of no reputation, but censured as a disorderly and riotous young man. He was even compared to his grandfather Cimon, who, for his stupidity, was called *Coalemos* (that is, *Idiot*). Stesimbrotus, the Thasian, who was his contemporary, says, he had no knowledge of music, or any other accomplishment which was in vogue among the Greeks, and that he had not the least spark of the Attic wit or eloquence; but that there was a generosity and sincerity in his behaviour, which shewed the composition of his soul to be rather of the Peloponnesian kind. Like the Hercules of Euripides, he was

Rough and unbred, but great on great occasions

And therefore we may well add that article to the account Stesimbrotus has given us of him.

In his youth, he was accused of a criminal commerce with his sister Elpinice.[2] There are other instances, indeed, mentioned of Elpinice's irregular conduct, particularly with respect to Polygnotus the painter. Hence it was, we are told, that when he painted the Trojan women, in the portico then called *Pisianaction*,[3] but now *Pœkile*, he drew Elpinice's face in the character of Laodice. Polygnotus, however, was not a painter by profession, nor did he receive wages for his work in the portico, but painted without reward, to recommend himself to his countrymen. So the historians write, as well as the poet Melanthius, in these verses—

The temples of the gods, The fanes of heroes, and Cecropian halls
His liberal hand adorn'd.

It is true, there are some who assert that Elpinice did not live in a private commerce with Cimon, but that she was publicly married to him, her poverty preventing her from getting a husband suitable to her birth. Afterwards Callias, a rich Athenian, falling in love with her, made a proposal to pay the government her father's fine, if she would give him her hand, which condition she agreed to, and with her brother's consent, became his wife. Still it must be acknowledged that Cimon had his attachments to the sex. Witness his mistresses Asteria of Salamis and one Menstra, on whose account the poet Melanthius jests upon him in his elegies. And

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1 *Scapte Hyle* signifies a wood *full of trenches*. Stephanus (de urb.) calls it Scaptesula.

2 Some say Elpinice was only half-sister to Cimon, and that as such he married her; the laws of Athens not forbidding him to marry one that was sister only by the father's side. Cornelius Nepos expressly affirms it.

3 Diogenes, Suidas, and others, call it Peisianaction.

though he was legally married to Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles, yet he was too uxorious while she lived, and at her death he was inconsolable, if we may judge from the elegies that were addressed to him by way of comfort and condolence. Panætius, the philosopher, thinks Archelaus the physician was author of those elegies, and from the times in which he flourished, the conjecture seems not improbable.

The rest of Cimon's conduct was great and admirable. In courage he was not inferior to Miltiades, nor in prudence to Themistocles, and he was confessedly an honester man than either of them. He could not be said to come short of them in abilities for war; and even while he was young and without military experience, it is surprising how much he exceeded them in political virtue. When Themistocles, upon the invasion of the Medes, advised the people to quit their city and territory, and retire to the straits of Salamis, to try their fortunes in a naval combat, the generality were astonished at the rashness of the enterprise. But Cimon, with a gay air, led the way with his friends through the Ceramicus, to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to dedicate to the goddess. This was to show that Athens had no need of cavalry but of marine forces on the present occasion. After he had consecrated the bridle, and taken down a shield from the wall, he paid his devotions to the goddess, and then went down to the sea, by which means he inspired numbers with courage to embark. Besides, as the poet Ion informs us, he was not unhandsome in his person but tall and majestic, and had an abundance of hair which curled upon his shoulders. He distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner in the battle, that he gained not only the praise but the hearts of his countrymen; insomuch that many joined his train, and exhorted him to think of designs and actions worthy of those at Marathon.

When he applied for a share in the administration, the people received him with pleasure. By this time they were weary of Themistocles, and as they knew Cimon's engaging and humane behaviour to their whole body, consequent upon his natural mildness and candour, they promoted him to the highest honours and offices in the state. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, contributed not a little to his advancement. He saw the goodness of his disposition, and set him up as a rival against the keenness and daring spirit of Themistocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, *Cimon was elected admiral.* The Athenians had not now the chief command at sea, but acted under the orders of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian. The first thing Cimon did, was to equip his countrymen in a more commodious manner, and to make them much better seamen than the rest. And as Pausanias began to treat with the barbarians, and write letters to the king about betraying the fleet to them, in consequence of which he treated the allies in a rough and haughty style, and foolishly gave in to many unnecessary and oppressive acts of authority, Cimon, on the other hand, listened to the complaints of the injured with so much gentleness and humanity, that he insensi-

bly gained the command of Greece, not by arms, but by his kind and obliging manners. For the greatest part of the allies, no longer able to bear the severity and pride of Pausanias, put themselves under the direction of Cimon and Aristides. At the same time they wrote to the *ephori* to desire them to recall Pausanias, by whom Sparta was so dishonoured, and all Greece so much discomposed.

It is related that when Pausanias was at Byzantium, he cast his eyes upon a young virgin named Cleonice, of a noble family there, and insisted on having her for a mistress. The parents intimidated by his power, were under the hard necessity of giving up their daughter. The young woman begged that the light might be taken out of his apartment, that she might go to his bed in secrecy and silence. When she entered he was asleep, and she unfortunately stumbled upon the candlestick and threw it down. The noise waked him suddenly, and he in his confusion, thinking it was an enemy coming to assassinate him, unsheathed a dagger that lay by him, and plunged it into the virgin's heart. After this he could never rest. Her image appeared to him every night, and with a menacing tone repeated this heroic verse—

Go to the fate which pride and lust prepare!

The allies, highly incensed at this infamous action, joined Cimon to besiege him in Byzantium. But he found means to escape thence; and as he was still haunted by the spectre, he is said to have applied to a temple at Heraclea,[1] where the *manes* of the dead were consulted. There he invoked the spirit of Cleonice,[2] and entreated her pardon. She appeared, and told him, "He would soon be delivered from all his troubles after his return to Sparta;" in which it seems, his death was enigmatically foretold.[3] These particulars we have from many historians.

All the confederates had now put themselves under the conduct of Cimon, and he sailed with them to Thrace, upon intelligence that some of the most honourable of the Persians and of the king's relations, had seized the city of Eion upon the river Strymon, and greatly harassed the Greeks in that neighbourhood. Cimon engaged and defeated the Persian forces, and then shut them up in the town. After this, he dislodged the Thracians above the Strymon, who had used to supply the town with provisions, and kept so strict a guard over the country, that no convoys could escape him. By this means the place was reduced to such extremity, that Butes the king's general, in absolute despair, set fire to it, and so perished there with his friends and all his substance.

In consequence of this, Cimon became master of the town, but there was no advantage to be reaped from it worth mentioning,

1 Heraclea was a place near Olympia. Pausanias applied to the necromancers there called Psychagogi, whose office it was to call up departed spirits.

2 Thus we find that it was a custom in the Pagan as well as in the Hebrew theology, to conjure up the spirits of the dead, and that the witch of Endor was not the only witch in the world.

3 The Lacedæmonians having resolved to seize him, he fled for refuge to a temple of Minerva called *Chalcioecos*. There they shut him up and starved him.

because the barbarians had destroyed all by fire. The country about it, however, was very beautiful and fertile, and there he settled with the Athenians. For this reason the people of Athens permitted him to erect there three marble *Hermæ*, which had the following inscriptions:—

Where Strymon with his silver waves
The hapless Medes, with famine press'd
Let him, who, born in distant days,
These forms that valour's glory save,
For honour feel the patriot sigh,
Afar to Phrygia's fated lands
Behold! he bears in Homer still
In every age, on every coast,

The lofty towers of Eion laves,
The force of Grecian arms confess'd.
Beholds these monuments of praise—
And see how Athens crowns the brave,
And for his country learn to die.
When Musethens leads his Attic bands,
The palm of military skill,
'Tis thus the sons of Athens' boast!

Though Cimon's name does not appear in any of these inscriptions, yet his contemporaries considered them as the highest pitch of honour. For neither Themistocles nor Miltiades were favoured with anything of that kind. Nay, when the latter asked only for a crown of olive, Sochares of the ward of Decelea, stood up in the midst of the assembly and spoke against it, in terms that were not candid indeed, but agreeable to the people. He said, "Miltiades, when you shall fight the barbarians alone and conquer alone, then ask to have honours paid you alone." What was it then that induced them to give the preference so greatly to this action of Cimon? Was it not that, under the other generals, they fought for their lives and existence as a people, but under him they were able to distress their enemies, by carrying war into the countries where they had established themselves, and by colonizing Eion and Amphipolis? They planted a colony too in the isle of Scyros,[1] which was reduced by Cimon. The Dolopes who held it, paid no attention to agriculture. They had so long been addicted to piracy, that at last they spared not even the merchants and strangers who came into their ports, but in that of Ctesium plundered some Thessalians who came to traffic with them, and put them in prison. These prisoners, however, found means to escape, and went and lodged an impeachment against the place before the Amphictyones, who commanded the whole island to make restitution. Those who had no concern in the robbery were unwilling to pay anything, and, instead of that, called upon the persons who committed it, and had the goods in their hands to make satisfaction. But these pirates, apprehensive of the consequence, sent to invite Cimon to come with his ships and take the town, which they promised to deliver up to him. In pursuance of this, Cimon took the island, expelled the Dolopes, and cleared the Ægean sea of corsairs.

This done, he recollected that their ancient hero Theseus, the son of Ægeus, had retired from Athens to Scyros, and was there treacherously killed by king Lycomedes, who entertained some suspicion of him. And as there was an oracle which had enjoined the Athenians to bring back his remains,[2] and to honour him as a demi-

1 This happened about the beginning of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.

2 This oracle was delivered to them four years before; in the first year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad.

god, Cimon set himself to search for his tomb. This was no easy undertaking, for the people of Scyros had all along refused to declare where he lay, or to suffer any search for his bones. At last, with much pains and inquiry, he discovered the repository, and put his remains, set off with all imaginable magnificence, on board his own galley, and carried them to the ancient seat of that hero, almost 800 years after he had left it.

Nothing could give the people more pleasure than this event. To commemorate it they instituted games, in which the tragic poets were to try their skill, and the dispute was very remarkable. *Sophocles, then a young man, brought his first piece upon the theatre*; and Aphepsion, the archon, perceiving that the audience were not unprejudiced, did not appoint the judges by lot in the usual manner. The method he took was this: when Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre, and made the due libations to the god who presided over the games, the archon would not suffer them to retire, but obliged them to sit down and select ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges caused an extraordinary emulation among the actors. *Sophocles gained the prize*; at which Æschylus was so much grieved and disconcerted, that he could not bear to stay much longer in Athens, but in anger retired to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near Gela.

Ion tells us, that when he was very young, and lately come from Chios to Athens, he supped at Laomedon's with Cimon. After supper, when the libations were over, Cimon was desired to sing, and he did it so agreeably that the company preferred him in point of politeness, to Themistocles. The conversation afterwards turned upon the actions of Cimon, and each of the guests dwelt upon such as appeared to him the most considerable: he, for his part, mentioned only this, which he looked upon as the most artful expedient he had made use of. A great number of barbarians were made prisoners in Sestos and at Byzantium, and the allies desired Cimon to make a division of the booty. Cimon placed the prisoners, quite naked, on one side, and all their ornaments on the other. The allies complained the shares were not equal; whereupon he bade them take which part they pleased, assuring them that the Athenians would be satisfied with what they left. Herophytus, the Samian, advised them to make choice of the Persian spoils, and of course, the Persian captives fell to the share of the Athenians. For the present, Cimon was ridiculed in private for the division he had made, because the allies had chains of gold, rich collars and bracelets, and robes of scarlet and purple to show, while the Athenians had nothing but a parcel of naked slaves, and those very unfit for labour. But a little after, the friends and relations of the prisoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia, and gave large sums for their ransom. So that Cimon with the money purchased four months' provisions for his ships, and sent a quantity of gold besides to the Athenian treasury.

Cimon by this time had acquired a great fortune, and what he had gained gloriously in the war from the enemy, he laid out with

as much reputation upon his fellow-citizens. He ordered the fences of his fields and gardens to be thrown down, that strangers, as well as his own countrymen, might freely partake of his fruit. *He had a supper provided at his house every day, in which the dishes were plain, but sufficient for a multitude of guests. Every poor citizen repaired to it at pleasure, and had his diet without care or trouble;* by which means he was enabled to give proper attention to public affairs. Aristotle, indeed, says, this supper was not provided for all the citizens in general, but only for those of his own tribe, which was that of Lacia.[1]

When he walked out, he used to have a retinue of young men well clothed, and if he happened to meet an aged citizen in a mean dress, he ordered some one of them to change clothes with him. This was great and noble. But besides this, the same attendants carried with them a quantity of money, and when they met in the market-place with any necessitous person of tolerable appearance, they took care to slip some pieces into his hand as privately as possible. Cratinus, the comic writer, seems to have referred to these circumstances in one of his pieces entitled Archilochi:

> Even I, Metrobius, though a scrivener, hoped
> To pass a cheerful and a sleek old age,
> And live to my last hour at Cimon's table;
> Cimon! the best and noblest of the Greeks!
> Whose wide-spread bounty vied with that of Heaven!
> But, ah! he's gone before me!

Gorgias the Leontine gave him this character, "*He got riches to use them, and used them so as to be honoured on their account.*" And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, in his Elegies thus expresses the utmost extent of his wishes:

> The wealth of Scopas's heirs, the soul of Cimon,
> And the famed trophies of Agesilaus.

Lichas the Lacedæmonian, we know, gained a great name among the Greeks, by nothing but entertaining strangers who came to see the public exercises of the Spartan youth. But the magnificence of Cimon exceeded even the ancient hospitality and bounty of the Athenians. They indeed taught the Greeks to sow bread-corn, to avail themselves of the use of wells, and of the benefit of fire: in these things they justly glory. But *Cimon's house was a kind of common hall for all the people; the first fruits of his lands were theirs;* whatever the seasons produced of excellent and agreeable, they freely gathered; nor were strangers in the least debarred from them: so that he in some measure revived the community of goods which prevailed in the reign of Saturn, and which the poets tell so much of. Those who malevolently ascribed this liberality of his to a desire of flattering or courting the people, were refuted by the rest of his conduct, in which he favoured the nobility, and inclined to the constitution and custom of Lacedæmon. When Themistocles

[1] Cimon's ward being afterwards called Oenoë, it must be reconciled with this place from Stephanus, who tells us, "the Laciadæ were a people of the warlike tenets."

[2] Scopas, a rich Thessalian, is mentioned in the life of Cato.

wanted to raise the power and privileges of the commons too high, he joined Aristides to oppose him. In like manner he opposed Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himself with the people, attempted to abolish the court of Areopagus. He saw all persons concerned in the administration, except Aristides and Ephialtes, pillaging the public, yet *he kept his own hands clean*, and in all his speeches and actions continued to the last perfectly disinterested. One instance of this they give us in his behaviour to Rhœsaces, a barbarian who had revolted from the king of Persia, and was come to Athens with great treasures. This man, finding himself harassed by informers there, applied to Cimon for his protection; and, to gain his favour, placed two cups, the one full of gold and the other of silver darics, in his antechamber. Cimon, casting his eye upon them, smiled and asked him, "Whether he should choose to have him his mercenary or his friend?" "My friend, undoubtedly," said the barbarian. "Go then," said Cimon, "and take these things back with you; for if I be your friend, your money will be mine whenever I have occasion for it."

About this time the allies, though they paid their contributions, began to scruple about furnishing the ships and men. They wanted to bid adieu to the troubles of war, and to till the ground in quiet and tranquillity, particularly as the barbarians kept at home, and gave them no disturbance. The other Athenian generals took every method to compel them to make good their quota, and by prosecutions and fines rendered the Athenian government oppressive and invidious. But Cimon took a different course when he had the command. He used no compulsion to any Grecian; he took money and ships unmanned of such as did not choose to serve in person; and thus suffered them to be led by the charms of ease to domestic employment, to husbandry and manufactures: so that, of a warlike people, they became, through an inglorious attachment to luxury and pleasure, quite unfit for any thing in the military department. On the other hand, *he made all the Athenians in their turns serve on board his ships*, and kept them in continual exercise. By these means he extended the Athenian dominion over the allies, who were all the while paying him for it. The Athenians were always upon one expedition or other; had their weapons for ever in their hands, and were trained up to every fatigue of service; hence it was that the allies learned to fear and flatter them, and instead of being their fellow-soldiers as formerly, insensibly became their tributaries and subjects.

Add to this, that no man humbled the pride and arrogance of the great king more than Cimon. Not satisfied with driving him out of Greece, he pursued his footsteps, and without suffering him to take breath, ravaged and laid waste some parts of his dominions, and drew over others to the Grecian league, insomuch that in all Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not a Persian standard to be seen. As soon as he was informed that the king's fleets and armies lay upon the Pamphylian coast, he wanted to intimidate them in such a manner that they should never more venture beyond

the Chelidonian isles. For this purpose he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium with a fleet of 200 galleys, which Themistocles had, in their first construction, made light and fit to turn with the utmost agility. Cimon widened them, and joined a platform to the deck of each, that there might in time of action, be room for a greater number of combatants. When he arrived at Phaselis, which was inhabited by Greeks, but would neither receive his fleet nor revolt from the king, he ravaged their territories and advanced to assault their walls. Hereupon the Chians who were among his forces, having of old had a friendship for the people of Phaselis, on one side endeavoured to pacify Cimon, and on the other addressed themselves to the townsmen by letters fastened to arrows, which they shot over the walls. At length they reconciled the two parties; the conditions were, that the Phaselites should pay down ten talents, and should follow Cimon's standard against the barbarians.

Ephorus says, Tithraustes commanded the king's fleet, and Pherendates his land forces; but Callisthenes will have it, that Ariomandes, the son of Gobryas, was at the head of the Persians. He tells us further, that he lay at anchor in the river Eurymedon, and did not yet choose to come to an engagement with the Greeks, because he expected a reinforcement of 80 Phœnician ships from Cyprus. On the other hand, Cimon wanted to prevent that junction, and therefore sailed with a resolution to compel the Persians to fight if they declined it. To avoid it they pushed up the river. But when Cimon came up, they attempted to make head against him with 600 ships, according to Phanodemus, or, as Ephorus writes, with 350. They performed, however, nothing worthy of such a fleet, but presently made for land. The foremost got on shore, and escaped to the army which was drawn up hard by. The Greeks laid hold on the rest and handled them very roughly, as well as their ships. A certain proof that the Persian fleet was very numerous is, that though many in all probability got away, and many others were destroyed, yet the Athenians took no less than 200 vessels.

The barbarian land-forces advanced close to the sea; but it appeared to Cimon an arduous undertaking to make good his landing by dint of sword, and with his troops, who were fatigued with the late action, to engage those that were quite fresh and many times their number. Notwithstanding this, he saw the courage and spirits of his men elevated with their late victory, and that they were very desirous to be led against the enemy. He therefore, disembarked his heavy-armed infantry, yet warm from the action. They rushed forward with loud shouts, and the Persians stood and received them with a good countenance. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the bravest and most distinguished among the Athenians were slain. At last with much difficulty the barbarians were put to the rout: many were killed and many others were taken, together with their pavilions full of all manner of rich spoil.

Thus Cimon, like an excellent champion, won two prizes in one day; and by these two actions outdid the victory of Salamis at sea, and of Platæa at land. He added, however, a new trophy to his

victories. Upon intelligence that the 80 Phœnician galleys, which were not in the battle, were arrived at Hydrus,[1] he steered that way as fast as possible. They had not received any certain account of the forces to whose assistance they were going, and as this suspense much intimidated them, they were easily defeated, with the loss of all their ships and most of their men.

These events so humbled the king of Persia, that he came into that famous peace which limited him to the distance of a day's journey (400 furlongs) on horseback from the Grecian sea; and by which he engaged that none of his galleys or other ships of war should ever come within the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles. Callisthenes, indeed, denies that the king agreed to these conditions; but he allows that his subsequent behaviour was equivalent to such an agreement. For his fears consequent upon the defeat made him retire so far from Greece, that Pericles with 50 ships, and Ephialtes with no more than 30, sailed beyond the Chelidonian rocks without meeting with any fleet of the barbarians. However, in the collection of Athenian decrees made by Craterus, there is a copy of the articles of this peace, which are in substance the same as we have related them. We are told also, that the Athenians built an altar to Peace on this occasion, and that they paid particular honours to Callias, who negotiated the treaty. So much was raised from the sale of the spoils that, besides what was reserved for other occasions, the people had money enough to build the wall on the south side of the citadel. Nay, such was the treasure this expedition afforded, that by it were laid the foundations of the long walls called Legs; they were not finished indeed till sometime after. And as the place where they were to be erected was marshy and full of water, Cimon at his own expense, had the bottom secured by ramming down large stones and binding them with gravel. He, too, first adorned the city with those elegant and noble places for exercise and disputation, which a little after came to be so much admired. He planted the *forum* with plane-trees; and whereas the academy before was a dry and unsightly plat, he brought water to it, and sheltered it with groves, so that it abounded with clean alleys and shady walks.

By this time the Persians refused to evacuate the Chersonesus; and, instead of that, called down the Thracians to their assistance. Cimon set out against them from Athens with a very few galleys, and as they looked upon him with contempt on that account, he attacked them, and with 4 ships only, took 13 of theirs. Thus he expelled the Persians, and beat the Thracians too, by which success he reduced the whole Chersonesus to the obedience of Athens. After this, he defeated at sea the Thasians, who had revolted from the Athenians, took 33 of their ships, and stormed their town. The

[1] As no such place as Hydrus is to be found, Lubinus thinks we should read Sydra, which was a maritime town of Cilicia. Dacier proposes to read Hydrussa, which was one of the Cyclades. But perhaps Hydrus is only a corruption of Cyprus; for Polyænus (l. 1.) tells us, Cimon sailed thither immediately after his twofold victory. And he adds, that he went disguised in a Persian dress, which must be with a view to take in the Phœnician galleys.

gold mines which were in the neighbouring continent, he secured to his countrymen, together with the whole Thasian territories.

From thence there was an easy opening to invade Macedonia, and possibly to conquer great part of it; and as he neglected the opportunity, it was thought to be owing to the presents which king Alexander made him. His enemies, therefore, impeached him for it, and brought him to his trial. In his defence he thus addressed his judges:—"I have no connection with rich Ionians or Thessalians, whom other generals have applied to, in hopes of receiving compliments and treasures from them. My attachment is to the Macedonians,[1] whose frugality and sobriety I honour and imitate; things preferable with me to all the wealth in the world. I love indeed to enrich my country at the expense of its enemies." Stesimbrotus, who mentions this trial, says Elpinice waited on Pericles at his own house, to entreat that he would behave with some lenity to her brother: for Pericles was the most vehement accuser he had. At present, he only said, "You are old, Elpinice, much too old to transact such business as this." However, when the cause came on, he was favourable enough to Cimon, and rose up only once to speak during the whole impeachment, and then he did it in a slight manner. Cimon therefore was honourably acquitted.

As to the rest of his administration, he opposed and restrained the people who were invading the province of the nobility, and wanted to appropriate the direction of everything to themselves. But when he was gone out upon a new expedition, they broke out again, and overturning the constitution and most sacred customs of their country, at the instigation of Ephialtes, they took from the council of Areopagus those causes that used to come before it, and left it the cognizance of but very few. Thus, by bringing all matters before themselves, they made the government a perfect democracy. And this they did with the concurrence of Pericles, who by this time was grown very powerful, and had espoused their party. It was with great indignation that Cimon found, at his return, the dignity of that high court insulted; and he set himself to restore its jurisdiction, and to revive such an aristocracy as had been obtained under Clisthenes. Upon this, his adversaries raised a great clamour, and exasperated the people against him, not forgetting those stories about his sister, and his own attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Hence those verses of Eupolis about Cimon:—

> He's not a villain, but a debauchee,
> Whose careless heart is lost on wine and women.
> The time has been, he slept in Lacedæmon,
> And left poor Elpinice here alone.

But if with all his negligence and love of wine, he took so many cities

[1] The manuscripts in general have Lacedæmonians; and that is probably the true reading. For Cimon is well known to have had a strong attachment to that people. Besides, the Macedonians were not a sober people. As to what some object, that it is strange he should make no mention of the Macedonians, when he was accused of being bribed by them; the answer is easy, we are not certain that Plutarch has given us all Cimon's defence.

and gained so many victories, it is plain that if he had been a sober man and attentive to business, none of the Greeks, either before or after him, could have exceeded him in great and glorious actions.

From his first setting out in life, he had an attachment to the Lacedæmonians. According to Stesimbrotus, he called one of the twins he had by a Clitonian woman, Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus; and Pericles often took occasion to reproach them with their mean descent by the mother's side. But Diodorus the geographer writes, that he had both these sons, and a third named Thessalus, by Isodice, daughter to Euryptolemus the son of Megacles.

The Spartans contributed not a little to the promotion of Cimon. Being declared enemies to Themistocles, they much rather chose to adhere to Cimon, though but a young man, at the head of affairs in Athens. The Athenians, too, at first saw this with pleasure, because they reaped great advantages from the regard which the Spartans had for Cimon. When they began to take the lead among the allies, and were gaining the chief direction of all the business of the league, it was no uneasiness to them to see the honour and esteem he was held in. Indeed Cimon was the man they pitched upon for transacting that business, on account of his humane behaviour to the allies, and his interest with the Lacedæmonians. But when they were become great and powerful, it gave them pain to see Cimon still adoring the Spartans. For he was always magnifying that people at their expense; and particularly, as Stesimbrotus tells us, when he had any fault to find with them, he used to say, "The Lacedæmonians would not have done so." On this account his countrymen began to envy and to hate him.

They had, however, a still heavier complaint against him, which took its rise as follows. In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, there happened the greatest earthquake at Sparta that ever was heard of. The ground in many parts of Laconia was cleft asunder; Mount Taygetus felt the shock, and its ridges were torn off; the whole city was dismantled, except five houses. The young men and boys were exercising in the portico, and it is said that a little before the earthquake a hare crossed the place, upon which the young men, naked and anointed as they were, ran out in sport after it. The building fell upon the boys that remained, and destroyed them altogether. Their monument is still called, from that event, Sismatia.

Archidamus, amidst the present danger, perceived another that was likely to ensue, and, as he saw the people busy in endeavouring to save their most valuable moveables, he ordered the trumpets to give the alarm, as if some enemy were ready to fall upon them, that they might repair to him immediately with their weapons in their hands. This was the only thing which at that crisis saved Sparta. For the Helotes flocked together on all sides from the fields to despatch such as had escaped the earthquake; but finding them armed and in good order, they returned to their villages, and declared open war. At the same time they persuaded some of their

neighbours, among whom were the Messenians, to join them against Sparta.

I this great distress the Lacedæmonians sent Periclidas to Athens, to beg for succours. Aristophanes, (Lysistrata, l. 140), in his comic way, says, "There was an extraordinary contrast between his pale face and his red robe, as he sat a suppliant at the altars, and asked us for troops." Ephialtes strongly opposed and protested against giving any assistance to re-establish a city which was rival to their own, insisting that they ought rather to suffer the pride of Sparta to be trodden under foot. Cimon, however, as Critias tells us, preferred the relief of Sparta to the enlargement of the Athenian power, and persuaded the people to march with a great army to its aid. Ion mentions the words which had the most effect upon them: he desired them, it seems, "Not to suffer Greece to be maimed, nor to deprive their own city of its companion."

When he returned from assisting the Lacedæmonians, he marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus complained in high terms of his bringing in his troops without permission of the citizens: "For," said she, "when we knock at another man's door, we do not enter without leave from the master." "But you, Lachartus," answered Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of Cleone and Megara, but broke them in pieces, and forced your way in, upon this principle, that nothing should be shut against the strong." With this boldness and propriety too did he speak to the Corinthian, and then pursued his march.

After this, the Spartans called in the Athenians a second time against the Messenians and Helotes in Ithome.[1] But when they were arrived, they were more afraid of their spirit of enterprise than of the enemy, and therefore, of all their allies sent them only back again, as persons suspected of some dishonourable design. They returned full of resentment of course,[2] and now openly declared themselves against the partisans of the Lacedæmonians, and particularly against Cimon. In consequence of this, upon a slight pretence, they banished him for ten years, which is the term the ostracism extends to.

In the meantime, the Lacedæmonians, in their return from an expedition in which they had delivered Delphi from the Phocians, encamped at Tengara. The Athenians came to give them battle. On this occasion Cimon appeared in arms among those of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis, to fight for his country against the Lacedæmonians. When the council of 500 heard of it, they were afraid that his enemies would raise a clamour against him, as if he was only come to throw things into confusion, and to bring the Lacedæmonians into Athens, and therefore forbade the generals to receive him. Cimon, upon this, retired, after he had desired

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1 The Spartans were not skilled in sieges.

2 The Athenians, in resentment of this affront, broke the alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argives.—Thucyd. l. i.

Euthippus the Anaphlystian, and the rest of his friends, who were most censured as partisans of Sparta, to exert themselves gloriously against the enemy, and by their behaviour wipe off the aspersion.

These brave men, in number about 100, took Cimon's armour (as a sacred pledge) into the midst of their little band, formed themselves into a close body, and fought till they all fell with the greatest ardour imaginable. The Athenians regretted them exceedingly, and repented of the unjust censures they had fixed upon them. Their resentment against Cimon, too, soon abated, partly from the remembrance of his past services, and partly from the difficulties they lay under at the present juncture. They were beaten in the great battle fought at Tanagra, and they expected another army would come against them from Peloponnesus the next spring. Hence it was, that they recalled Cimon from banishment, and Pericles himself was the first to propose it. With so much candour were differences managed then, so moderate the resentments of men, and so easily laid down, where the public good required it! Ambition itself, the strongest of all passions, yielded to the interests and necessities of their country!

Cimon, soon after his return, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. After the peace was made, he saw the Athenians could not sit down quietly, but still wanted to be in motion, and to aggrandize themselves by new expeditions. To prevent their exciting further troubles in Greece, and giving a handle for intestine wars, and heavy complaints of the allies against Athens, on account of their formidable fleets traversing the seas about the islands and round Peloponnesus, he fitted out a fleet of 200 sail, to carry war into Egypt, and Cyprus.[1] This he thought would answer two intentions; it would accustom the Athenians to conflicts with the barbarians, and it would improve their substance in an honourable manner, by bringing the rich spoils of their natural enemies into Greece.

When all was now ready, and the army on the point of embarking, Cimon had this dream. An angry bitch seemed to bay at him,

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1 The history of the first expedition is this. While Cimon was employed in his enterprise against Cyprus, Inarus, king of Libya, having brought the greatest part of Lower Egypt to revolt from Artaxerxes, called in the Athenians to assist him to complete his conquest. Hereupon the Athenians quitted Cyprus, and sailed into Egypt. They made themselves masters of the Nile, and attacking Memphis, seized two of the outworks, and attempted the third, called the *white wall*. But the expedition proved very unfortunate. Artaxerxes sent Megabyzus with a powerful army into Egypt. He defeated the rebels and the Libyans, their associates, drove the Greeks from Memphis, shut them up in the island of Prosopitis 18 months, and at last forced them to surrender. They almost all perished in that war, which lasted six years. Inarus, in violation of the public faith, was crucified. The second expedition was undertaken a few years after, and was not more successful. The Athenians went against Cyprus with 200 galleys. While they were besieging Citium there, Amyrtæus the Saite applied to them for succours in Egypt, and Cimon sent him 60 of his galleys. Some say he went with them himself; others, that he continued before Citium. But nothing of moment was transacted at this time to the prejudice of the Persians in Egypt. However, in the tenth year of Darius Nothus, Amyrtæus issued from the fens, and, being joined by all the Egyptians, drove the Persians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country.—Thucyd. l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. xi.

and something between barking and a human voice, to utter these words—*Come on; I and my whelps with pleasure shall receive thee.* Though the dream was hard to interpret, Astyphilus the Posidonian, a great diviner, and friend of Cimon's, told him it signified his death. He argued thus: a dog is an enemy to the man he barks at; and no one can give his enemy greater pleasure than by his death. The mixture of the voice pointed out that the enemy was a Mede, for the armies of the Medes are composed of Greeks and barbarians. After this dream he had another sign in sacrificing to Bacchus. When the priest had killed the victim, a swarm of ants took up the clotted blood by little and little, and laid it upon Cimon's great toe. This they did for some time without anyone taking notice of it. At last Cimon himself observed it, and at the same instant the soothsayer came and shewed him the liver without a head.

The expedition, however, could not now be put off, and therefore he set sail. He sent 60 of his galleys against Egypt, and with the rest made for the Asiatic coast, where he defeated the king's fleet, consisting of Phœnician and Cilician ships, made himself master of the cities in that circuit, and watched his opportunity to penetrate into Egypt. Everything was great in the designs he formed. He thought of nothing less than overturning the whole Persian empire; and the rather, because he was informed that Themistocles was in great reputation and power with the barbarians, and had promised the king to take the conduct of the Grecian war whenever he entered upon it. But Themistocles, they tell us, in despair of managing it to any advantage, and of getting the better of the good fortune and valour of Cimon, fell by his own hand.

When Cimon had formed these great projects as a first step towards them, he cast anchor before Cyprus. From thence he sent persons in whom he could confide with a private question to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, for their errand was entirely unknown. Nor did the deity return them any answer, but immediately upon their arrival ordered them to return, "because Cimon," said he, "is already with me." The messengers upon this, took the road to the sea, and when they reached the Grecian camp, which was then on the coasts of Egypt, they found that Cimon was dead. They then inquired what day he died, and comparing it with the time the oracle was delivered, they perceived that his departure was enigmatically pointed at in the expression—"He was already with the gods."

According to most authors, he died a natural death during the siege of Citium, but some say he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the barbarians.

The last advice he gave those about him was, to sail away immediately, and to conceal his death. Accordingly, before the enemy or their allies knew the real state of the case, they returned in safety by the generalship of Cimon, exercised, as Phanodemus says, thirty days after his death.

After he was gone, there was not one Grecian general who did anything considerable against the barbarians. The leading orators were little better than incendiaries, who set the Greeks one against

another, and involved them in intestine wars; nor was there any healing hand to interpose. Thus the king's affairs had time to recover themselves, and inexpressible ruin was brought upon the powers of Greece. Long after this, indeed, Agesilaus carried his arms into Asia, and renewed the war awhile against the king's lieutenants on the coast, but he was so soon recalled by the seditions and tumults which broke out afresh in Greece, that he could do nothing extraordinary. The Persian tax-gatherers were then left amidst the cities in alliance and friendship with the Greeks; whereas, while Cimon had the command not a single collector was seen, nor so much as a horseman appeared within four hundred furlongs from the sea-coast.

That his remains were brought to Attica, his monument there is a sufficient proof, for it still bears the title of Cimonia. Nevertheless the people of Citium have a tomb of Cimon, which they hold in great veneration, as Nausicrates the orator, informs us; the gods having ordered them in a certain famine not to disregard his *manes*, but to honour and worship him as a superior being. Such was this Grecian general.

PERICLES.

WHEN Cæsar happened to see some strangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked, "Whether the women in their country never bore any children?" thus reproving with a proper severity those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness which is due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in the human soul, upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses, indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive; but the mind, possessed of a self-directing power, may turn its attention to whatever it thinks proper. It should, therefore, be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties. For as that colour is best suited to the eye, which by its beauty and agreeableness at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight, so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects which, through the channel of pleasure may lead us to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these inspires us with emulation, and a strong desire to imitate them; whereas in other things, admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire, but on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman. Thus, we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antisthenes,[1] therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered properly enough, "Then he is good for nothing else, otherwise he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang in a very agreeable and skilful manner, "Are not you ashamed to sing so well?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing, and he does the muses sufficient honour if he attends the performances of those who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanical employments, his industry in those things is a proof of his inattention to nobler studies. No young man of noble birth or liberal sentiments, from seeing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or from the sight of the Juno at Argos, to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilocus, though delighted with their poems.[2] For though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude, that things of this kind which excite not a spirit of emulation, nor produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that at the same time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise: the former we are glad to receive from others – the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power; it kindles in us at once an active principle; it forms our manners, and influences our desires, not only when represented in a living example, but even in an historical description.

For this reason, we chose to proceed in writing the lives of great men, and have composed this book, which contains the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who carried on the war against Hannibal: men who resembled each other in many virtues, particularly in justice and moderation, and who effectually served their respective commonwealths by patiently enduring the injurious and capricious treatment they received from their colleagues and their countrymen. Whether we are right in our judgment or not, will be easy to see in the work itself.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens, both by the father and mother's side. His father, Xanthippus, who defeated the King of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among

1 Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics.

2 This seems to be somewhat inconsistent with that respect and esteem, in which the noble arts of poetry and sculpture were held in ancient Greece and Rome, and with that admiration which the proficients in those arts always obtain among the people. But there was still a kind of jealousy between the poets and philosophers, and our philosophical biographer shows pretty clearly by the Platonic parade of this introduction, that he would magnify the latter at the expense of the former.

the people, and the safety of the state. She dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days after brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well turned, *but his head was disproportionably long*. For this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus or *onion-head*, for the word *shinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla*, or *sea-onion*. Cratinus, the comic writer, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage:

> FAUTION received old TIME to her embraces:
> Hence came a tyrant-spawn, on earth called Pericles,
> In heaven the *head-compeller*.

And again in his *Nemesis* he thus addresses him—

> Come, blessed Jove,[1] the high and mighty HEAD, The friend of hospitality!

And Teleclides says—

> Now, in a mass of thought he ruminates
> On strange expedients, while his HEAD depress'd
> With its own weight, sinks on his knees: and now
> From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth
> Storms and fierce thunders.

And Eupolis, in his *Demi*, asking news of all the great orators, whom he represented as ascending from the shades below, when Pericles comes up last, cries out—

> HEAD of the tribes that haunt those spacious realms, Does he ascend?

Most writers agree, that the master who taught him music was called Damon, the first syllable of whose name they tell us, is to be pronounced short; but Aristotle informs us, that he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he seems to have been a politician, who, under the pretence of teaching music, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar; and he attended Pericles as his tutor and assistant in politics, in the same manner as a master of the gymnastic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. However, Damon's giving lessons upon the harp was discovered to be a mere pretext, and as a busy politician and friend to tyranny, he was banished by the ostracism. Nor was he spared by the comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a person addressing him thus—

> Inform me, Damon, first, does fame say true?
> And wast thou really *Pericles's Chiron*?[2]

Pericles also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea,[3] who, in natural

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1 Pericles was called *Olympius*, or Jupiter. The poet here addresses him under that character with an epithet, which signifies *ill-sped*, but may also signify *great-headed*. In our language we have no word with such a double meaning. Just above, he is called *Cephalegeretes*, *head-compeller* (as if his head was an assemblage of many heads,) instead of *Nephelegeretes*, *cloud-compeller*, a common epithet of Jupiter.

2 The word *Chiron* again is ambiguous, and may either signify, *wast thou preceptor to* Pericles? or, *wast thou more wicked than* Pericles?

3 This Zeno was of Elea, a town of Italy, and a Phocian colony; and must be carefully distinguished from Zeno the founder of the sect of the Stoics. The Zeno here spoken of was respectable for attempting to rid his country of a tyrant. The tyrant took him, and caused him to be pounded to death in a mortar. But his death accomplished what he could not effect in his lifetime: for his fellow citizens were so much incensed at the dreadful manner

philosophy, was a follower of Parmenides, and who, by much practice in the art of disputing, had learned to confound and silence all his opponents; as Timon the Phlasian declares in these verses—

> Have you not heard of Zeno's mighty powers
> Who could change sides, yet changing triumph'd still In the tongue's wars?

But the philosopher with whom he was most intimately acquainted, who gave him that force and sublimity of sentiment superior to all the demagogues, who, in short, formed him to that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of those times called *nous* or *intelligence*, either in admiration of his great understanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or because *he was the first who clearly proved that the universe owed its formation neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and unmixed Mind*, who separated the homogeneous parts from the other with which they were confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philosopher, and instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of style, far removed from the low expression of the vulgar, but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress, which no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder. These things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

Such was his conduct, when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuse, he bore it with patience and silence, and continued in public for the despatch of some urgent affairs. In the evening he walked slowly home, this impudent wretch following, and insulting him all the way with the most scurrilous language. And as it was very dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and light the man home. The poet Ion, however, says he was proud and supercilious in conversation, and that there was a great deal of vanity and contempt of others mixed with his dignity of manner: on the other hand, he highly extols the civility, complaisance, and politeness of Cimon. But to take no farther notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear, without a mixture of something satirical, as it was in the ancient tragedy,[1] Zeno desired that those that called the gravity of Pericles' pride and arro-

of it, that they fell upon the tyrant and stoned him. As to his arguments, and those of his master Parmenides, pretended to be so invincible, one of them was to prove there can be no such thing as motion, since a thing can neither move in the place where it is, nor in the place where it is not. But this sophism is easily refuted: for motion is the passing of a thing or a person INTO a new part of space.

[1] "Tragedy at first was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus." Persons dressed like satyrs were the performers, and they often broke out into the most licentious raillery. Afterwards when tragedy took a graver turn, something of the former drollery was still retained, as in that which we call tragi-comedy. In time serious characters and events became the subject of tragedy, without that mixture; but even then, after exhibiting three or four serious tragedies, the poets used to conclude their contention for the prize with a satirical one: of this sort is the Cyclops of Euripides, and the only one remaining

gance, to be proud the same way; telling them the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome those terrors which the various phenomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which, instead of the frightful extravagancies of superstition, implants in us a sober pity, supported by a rational hope.

We are told, there was brought to Pericles, from one of his farms, a ram's head with only one horn, and Lampo, the soothsayer, observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared that the two parties in the state, namely, those of Thucydides and Pericles, would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found: but Anaxagoras having dissected the head, shewed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the skull whence the horn took its rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was no less honoured for his prediction, when, soon after, upon the fall of Thucydides, the administration was put entirely into the hands of Pericles.

But, in my opinion, the philosopher and the diviner may well enough be reconciled, and both be right; the one discovering the cause and the other the end. It was the business of the former to account for the appearance, and to consider how it came about; and of the latter to show why it was so formed, and what it portended. Those who say, that when the cause is found out the prodigy ceases, do not consider, that if they reject such signs as are preternatural, they must also deny that artificial signs are of any use; the clattering of brass quoits,[1] the light of beacons, and the shadow of a sun-dial, have all of them their proper natural causes, and yet each has another signification.

Pericles, in his youth, stood in great fear of the people; for in his countenance he was like Pisistratus the tyrant; and he perceived the old men were much struck by a farther resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As he was, moreover, of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of ostracism, and therefore intermeddled not with state affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose

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[1] The clattering of brass quoits or plates was sometimes a military signal among the Grecians. Among the Romans it was a signal to call the wrestlers to the ring.

rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor,[1] than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It seems he was apprehensive of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and was sensible, besides, that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence; and, therefore, in order to secure himself, and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time he entirely changed his manner of living. He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations: insomuch, that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew, Euryptolemus, and he staid there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears; and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals. Nor did he speak on all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley[2] (as Critolaus says), for greater occasions; despatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. On which account the comic writers speak of the people of Athens as of a horse wild and unmanaged.

> —which listens to the reins no more,
> But in his maddening course bears headlong down
> The very friends that feed him.

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his

[1] The popular party in Athens were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility. As Pericles could not lead the party of the nobles, because Cimon by the dignity of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate, had placed himself at their head, he had no other resource than to court the populace. And he flattered their favourite passion in the most agreeable manner, by lessening the power and privileges of the court of Areopagus, which was the chief support of the nobility, and indeed of the whole state. Thus the bringing of almost all causes before the tribunal of the people, the multiplying of gratuities, which were only another word for bribes, and the giving the people a taste for expensive pleasures, caused the downfall of the Athenian commonwealth; though the personal abilities of Pericles supported it during his time.

[2] The Salaminian galley was a consecrated vessel which the Athenians never made use of but on extraordinary occasions. They sent it, for instance, for a general whom they wanted to call to account, or with sacrifices to Apollo, or some other deity.

sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himself greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy. For, adding (as the divine Plato expresses it), the loftiness of imagination, and all-commanding energy with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose, in the study of nature, to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators.[1] Hence he is said to have gained the surname of *Olympius;* though some will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city; and others, from his high authority both in peace and war. There appears, indeed, no absurdity in supposing that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire, both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that this title was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence; for they tell us that in his harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Milesius, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and respectable man, who for a long time opposed the measures of Pericles; and when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, asked him, "Which was the best wrestler, Pericles or he?" he answered, "When I throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe so."

Yet such was the solicitude of Pericles *when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods,*[2] "That not a word might unawares escape him unsuitable to the occasion." He left nothing in writing but some public decrees; and only a few of his sayings are recorded. He used to say, for instance, that "The isle of Ægina should not be suffered to remain an eye-sore to the Piræus;" and that "He saw a war approaching from Peloponnesus." And when Sophocles, who went in joint command with him upon an expedition at sea, happened to praise the beauty of a certain boy, he said, "A general, my friend, should not only have pure hands, but pure eyes." Stesimbrotus produces this passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in memory of those Athenians who fell in the Samian war, "They are become immortal like the gods: For the gods themselves are not visible to us; but from the honours they receive, and the happiness they enjoy, we conclude they are immortal; and such should those brave men be who die for their country."

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy, and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed

1 Plato observes, on the same occasion, that an orator as well as a physician ought to have a general knowledge of nature.

2 Quintilian says he prayed that not a word might escape him disagreeable to the people. And this is the more probable account of the matter, because (according to Suidas) *Pericles wrote down his orations before he pronounced them in public; and, indeed, was the first who did so.*

the whole authority. Many other writers likewise inform us, that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated at the public expense with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the government was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people expensive and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour which supported them before, it is proper that we should trace the effect to its cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first, to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothing the aged, and besides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit; Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure, which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Jos.[1] Accordingly, by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature,[2] and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen *archon, thesmothetes, king of the sacred rites*, or *polemarch*. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot; and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity raised a party against that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognizance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the *Ostracism*, as an enemy to the people,[3] and a friend to the Lacedæmonians—a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by *Ostracism*, was limited by law to ten years. Meantime, the Lacedæmonians with a great army entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned, and

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1 Jos was one of the isles called Sporades, in the Ægean sea, and celebrated for the tomb of Homer. But some learned men are of opinion that Demonides was not of the island of Jos, but of Oia, which was a borough in Attica.

2 There were several courts of judicature in Athens, composed of a certain number of the citizens, who sometimes received one *obolus* each, for every cause they tried; and sometimes men who aimed at popularity procured this fee to be increased

3 His treason against the state was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the opportunity he had to enlarge the Athenian conquests, after he had taken the gold mines of Thrace. Cimon answered that he had prosecuted the war to the utmost of his power against the Thracians and their other enemies: but that he had made no inroads into Macedonia, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind.

placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aspersion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulsed as an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: and the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon, and at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion to Pericles and the other demagogues. But some authors write, that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return, till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and with 200 galleys lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home. A story goes, that Elpinice before this, had softened the resentment of Pericles against Cimon, and procured her brother a milder sentence than that of death. Pericles was one of those appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and when Elpinice addressed him as a suppliant, he smiled and said, "You are old, Elpinice; much too old to solicit in so weighty an affair." However, he rose up but once to speak, barely to acquit himself of his trust, and did not bear so hard upon Cimon as the rest of his accusers.[1] Who then can give credit to Idomeneus, when he says that Pericles caused the orator Ephialtes, his friend and assistant in the administration, to be assassinated through jealousy and envy of his great character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he vents with great bitterness against a man, not indeed, in all respects irreproachable, but who certainly had such a greatness of mind, and high sense of honour, as was incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth of the matter, according to Aristotle, is, that Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible severity in prosecuting all that invaded the rights of the people, his enemies caused him to be taken off in a private and treacherous manner, by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

About the same time died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making him-

1 Yet Cimon was fined 50 talents, or £9687, 10s., and narrowly escaped a capital sentence, having only a majority of three votes to prevent it.

self absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but was superior to him in forensic and political abilities; and, by residing constantly in Athens, and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an *equilibrium*. For he did not suffer persons of superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because in that case their dignity was obscured and lost; but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was, indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful separation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided: but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one part was called the *people*, and the other the nobility. For this reason, Pericles, more than ever, gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them, contriving always to have some show, or play, or feast, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

As another means of employing their attention, *he sent out 60 galleys every year, manned for eight months, with a considerable number of the citizens, who were both paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners.* He likewise sent a colony of 1000 men to the Chersonesus, 500 to Naxos, 250 to Andros, 1000 into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did, to clear the city of a useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous; and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos and taking them into his own custody. That he had not left himself even the specious apology, of having caused the money to be brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep it from being seized by the barbarians: That Greece must needs consider it as the highest insult, and an act of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been obliged to contribute towards the war, lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues, and temples that cost 1000 talents,[1] as a proud and

1 The Parthenon is said to have cost 1000 talents.

vain woman decks herself out with jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received. That as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse a universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself." Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength, were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts, and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrison. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheelwrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders, and every art had a number of these lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus by the exercise of the different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus works were raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution; yet still the most wonderful circumstance was the expedition with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of one prosperous man.

It is said, that when Agatharcus the painter valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he dispatched his pieces; Zeuxis replied, "If I boast, it shall be of the slowness with which I finish mine." For ease and speed to the execution seldom give a work any lasting importance or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand, the time which is expended in labour, is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence we have the more reason to wonder, that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages: for as each of them as soon as finished had the venerable air of antiquity; so, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern building. A bloom is

diffused over them, which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.

Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendent of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The *Parthenon*, or temple of *Pallas*, whose dimensions had been 100 feet square,[1] was rebuilt by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiation at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature, and the upper row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly:

> Stones upon stones the orator has pil'd
> With swelling words, but words will build no walls.

The *Odeum*, or music theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of seats and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the king of Persia's pavilion. Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called *Thrattæ*:

> As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;
> As Pericles, a whole orchestra bears;
> Afraid of broils and banishment no more,
> He tunes the shell he trembled at before!

Pericles at this time exerted all his interest to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the best performer in music during the *Panathenæa*; and, as he was himself appointed judge and distributor of the prizes, he gave the contending artists directions in what manner to proceed, whether their performance was vocal, or on the flute or lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the *Odeum*.

The vestibule of the citadel was furnished in five years by Mnesicles the architect. A wonderful event that happened while the work was in hand, shewed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but rather took it into her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the best and most active of the workmen, missing his step, fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruised in such a manner, that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was greatly concerned at this accident; but in the midst of his affliction, the goddess appeared to him in a dream and informed him of a remedy, which he applied, and thereby soon recovered the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar (which is said to have been there before) a brazen statue of the *Minerva of health*. The golden statue of the

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1 It was called *Hecatompedon*, because it had been originally 100 feet square. And having been burned by the Persians, it was rebuilt by Pericles, and retained that name after it was greatly enlarged.

same goddess,[1] was the workmanship of Phidias, and his name is inscribed upon the pedestal. Through the friendship of Pericles, he had the direction of everything, and all the artists received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other slandered; and it was intimated that Phidias received into his house ladies for Pericles, who came thither under pretence of seeing his works. The comic poets, getting hold of this story, represented him as a perfect libertine. They accused him of an intrigue with the wife of Menippus, his friend and lieutenant in the army; and because Pyrilampes, another intimate acquaintance of his, had a collection of curious birds, and particularly of peacocks, it was supposed that he kept them only for presents for those women who granted favours to Pericles. But what wonder is it, if men of a satirical turn, daily sacrifice the characters of the great to that malevolent Demon, the envy of the multitude; when Stesimbrotus of Thasos has dared to lodge against Pericles that horrid and groundless accusation of corrupting his son's wife? so difficult it is to come at truth in the walk of history; since, if the writers live after the events they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of facts, and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship, to vitiate and pervert the truth.

The orators of Thucydides's party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting that he wasted the public treasure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles in his defence asked the people in full assembly, "Whether they thought he had expended too much?" Upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it," said he, "charged to my account,[2] not yours; only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens." Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out, "That he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure, without sparing it in the least."

At last the contest came on between him and Thucydides, which of them should be banished by the *Ostracism;* Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party.

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1 This statue was of gold and ivory. Pausanias has given us a description of it. The goddess was represented standing, clothed in a tunic that reached down to the foot. On her *ægis*, or breast-plate, was Medusa's head in ivory, and *victory*. She held a spear in her hand; and at her feet lay a buckler, and a dragon, supposed to be Erichthonius. The sphinx was represented on the middle of her helmet, with a griffin on each side. This statue was 39 feet high; the *victory* on the breast-plate was about four cubits: and 40 talents of gold were employed upon it.

2 It appears from a passage in Thucydides, that the public stock of the Athenians amounted to 9700 talents (or £1,875,050), of which Pericles had laid out in those public buildings 8700 talents. It is natural, therefore, to ask, how he could tell the people that it should be at his own expense, especially since Plutarch tells us in the sequel, that he had not in the least improved the estate left him by his father? To which the true answer probably is, that Pericles was politician enough to know that the vanity of the Athenians would never let them agree that he should inscribe the new magnificent buildings with his name, in exclusion of theirs; or he might venture to say any thing, being secure of a majority of votes to be given as he pleased.

The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongst all ranks of the people, Pericles became sole master of Athens and its dependencies. The revenue, the army and navy; the islands and the sea; a most extensive territory peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings, and alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man; he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted; the government, in fact, was not popular; its loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical or rather monarchical form. *He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour.* For the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage; in this respect imitating a good physician, who, in the various symptoms of a long disease, sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and at other times, sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controlling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. The two engines he worked with were hope and fear. With these, repressing their violence when they were too impetuous, and supporting their spirits when inclined to langour, he made it appear that rhetoric is (as Plato defined it) the art of ruling the minds of men, and that its principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which, like so many strings in a musical instrument, require the touch of a masterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient; but (as Thucydides observes) the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him; he was so much above the desire of it, that though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their posterity the sovereignty they had obtained, yet *he added not one drachma to his paternal estate.*

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles, but the comic writers abuse him in a most maligrant manner, giving his friends the name of the *new pisistratidæ*, and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to make himself absolute, since his authority was already much too great and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says, the Athenians had given up to him

> The tributes of the states, the states themselves
> To bind, to loose; to build, and to destroy;
> In peace, in war, to govern; nay, to rule
> Their very fate, like some superior being.

And this was not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration; but for 40 years together he held the pre-

eminence amidst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides; and continued it no less than 15 years after the fall and banishment of the latter. The power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centred in him, yet still he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances; but on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it; as he had not much time to spare he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up, and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one; they complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous economy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expenses being so nicely adjusted to the income.

The person who managed these concerns with so much exactness was a servant of his named Evangelius, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature, or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed considered these lower attentions as inconsistent with his wisdom. Following the dictates of enthusiasm, and wrapt up in sublime inquiries, he quitted his house, and left his lands untilled and desolate. But, in my opinion, *there is an essential difference between a speculative and a practical philosopher.* The former advances his ideas into the regions of science without the assistance of anything corporeal or external; the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the use of mankind, and riches afford him not only necessaries but excellent assistance. Thus it was with Pericles, who by his wealth was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of such prudential regards, this very Anaxagoras, we are told, lay neglected and unprovided for, insomuch that the poor old man had covered up his head and was going to starve himself.[1] But an account of it being brought to Pericles, he was extremely moved at it, ran immediately to him, expostulated, entreated; bewailing not so much the fate of his friend as his own, if his administration should lose so valuable a counsellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied, "Ah, Pericles! those that have need of a lamp, take care to supply it with oil."

By this time the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness, and Pericles, willing to advance it still higher, and to make the people more sensible of their importance, and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order, that all the Greeks, wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies

1 It was customary among the ancients for a person who was determined to put an end to his life to cover up his head; whether he devoted himself to death for the service of his country, or being weary of his being bade the world adieu.

to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burned, and about providing those sacrifices which had been vowed during the Persian war, for the preservation of Greece; and likewise to enter into such measures as might secure navigation and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty persons, each upwards of 50 years of age, were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in Asia, and the islanders as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phocis, and Peloponnesus, and from thence, by Locri along the adjoining continent, to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were dispatched through Eubœa to the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oetra and near the Maliac Bay, to the Pithiotæ, the Achæans[1] and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece. It took no effect however, nor did the cities send their deputies: the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians,[2] for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give account of it as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men, because their rash enterprises have been attended with success; he always told the Athenians, "That as far as their fate depended upon him, they should be immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that over and above the regular troops, he had persuaded the most spirited of the Athenian youth, to the number of 1000, to go volunteer in that expedition, he addressed him in public, and tried to divert him from it, making use, among the rest, of those well known words, "*If you regard not the opinion of Pericles, yet wait at least for the advice of time, who is the best of all counsellors.*" This saying, for the present, gained no great applause; but when, a few days after, news was brought that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea,[3] together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof, not only of his sagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus procured him

[1] By *Achæans* we are sometimes to understand the Greeks in general, especially in the writings of the poets; and sometimes the inhabitants of a particular district in Peloponnesus: but neither of these can be the meaning in this place. We must here understand a people of Thessaly, called *Achæans*.

[2] It is no wonder that the Lacedæmonians opposed this undertaking, since the giving way to it would have been acknowledging the Athenians as masters of all Greece. Indeed, the Athenians should not have attempted it, without an order or decree of the Amphictyons.

[3] This defeat happened in the second year of the eighty-third Olympiad, B.C 445, and more than 22 years before the death of Pericles.

most honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only strengthened their cities with the addition of 1000 able-bodied Athenians, but raised fortifications across the Isthmus from sea to sea; thus guarding against the incursions of the Thracians who were spread about the Chersonesus, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars under which that district had smarted, by reason of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by persons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expedition most celebrated among strangers was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ in the territories of Megara with 100 ships of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns, all but the Sicyonians, who made head against him at Memea, and were defeated in a pitched battle; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his galleys, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent; then passing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country, returned home. In the whole course of this affair he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Having sailed to Pontus with a large and well-equipped fleet, he procured the Grecian cities there all the advantages they desired, and treated them with great regard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes, he made the power of Athens very respectable, by shewing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope 13 ships, under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesileos their tyrant. And when the tyrant and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made, that a colony of 600 Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in possession of those houses and lands which had belonged to the tyrants.

He did not, however, give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when, elated with their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt,[1] and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with the unfortunate passion for Sicily, which the orators of Alcibiades's party afterwards inflamed still more. Nay, some even dreamed of

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1 For the Athenians had been masters of Egypt, as we find in the second book of Thucydides. They were driven out of it by Megabyzus, Artaxerxes's lieutenant, in the first year of the eighteenth olympiad, and it was only in the last year of the eighty-first olympiad that Pericles made that successful expedition about Peloponnesus; therefore it is not strange that the Athenians, now in the height of prosperity, talked of recovering their footing in a country which they had so lately lost.

Hetruria[1] and Carthage, and not without some ground of hope, as they imagined, because of the great extent of their dominions, and the successful course of their affairs.

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant desire of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it as a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds, whom he therefore opposed, as on other occasions, so particularly in the sacred war. For when the Lacedæmonians, by dint of arms, had restored the temple to the citizens of Delphi, which had been seized by the Phocians, Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither, and put it into the hands of the Phocians again. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved on the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of consulting the oracle first,[2] Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians to be inscribed on the wolf's right side.

The event shewed that he was right in confining the Athenian forces to act within the bounds of Greece. For, in the first place, the Eubœans revolted, and he led an army against them. Soon after, news was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces, under the command of king Plistonax, were upon the borders of Attica. The enemy offered him battle: he did not choose, however, to risk an engagement with so numerous and resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly directed by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the *Ephori* had appointed him on account of his tender age, he attempted to bribe that counsellor, and succeeding in it to his wish, persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king, and as he was not able to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon. As for Cleandrides, who fled from justice, they condemned him to death. He was the father of Gylippus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and who seemed to have derived the vice of avarice from him as an hereditary distemper. He was led by it into bad practices, for which he was banished with ignominy from Sparta.

In the accounts for this campaign, Pericles *put down ten talents laid out for a necessary use, and the people allowed it* without examining the matter closely, or prying into the secret. According to some writers, and among the rest Theophrastus, the philosopher, Pericles sent ten talents every year to Sparta, with which he gained all the magistracy, and kept them from acts of hostility—not that

1 Hetruria seems oddly joined with Carthage; but we may consider that Hetruria was on one side of Sicily, and Carthage on the other. The Athenians, therefore, after they had devoured Sicily in their thoughts, might think of extending their conquests to the countries on the right and left; in the same manner as king Pyrrhus indulged his wild ambition to subdue Sicily, Italy, and Africa.

2 This wolf is said to have been consecrated and placed by the side of the great altar, on occasion of a wolf's killing a thief who had robbed the temple, and leading the Delphians to the place where the treasure lay.

he purchased peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leisure to make preparations to carry on the war afterwards with advantage.

Immediately after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms against the revolters, and passing over into Eubœa with 50 ships and 5000 men, he reduced the cities. He expelled the *Hippobotæ*, persons distinguished by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians; and having exterminated all the Hestiæans, he gave their city to a colony of Athenians. The cause of this severity was their having taken an Athenian ship and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for 30 years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. The pretence he made use of was, that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia; it may not be amiss to inquire by what art or power she captivated the greatest statesman, and brought even philosophers to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed that she was by birth a Milesian,[1] and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the steps of Thargelia,[2] who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and to have reserved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who to the charms of her person added a peculiar politeness and poignant wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Persia's interest all that approached her, by whose means, as they were persons of eminence and authority, she sowed the seeds of the Median faction among the Grecian states.

Some, indeed, say, that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself sometimes visited her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her discourse, though the business that supported her was neither honourable nor decent, for she kept a number of courtezans in her house. Æschines informs us that Lysicles, who was a grazier,[3] and of a mean and ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humourous than serious, yet thus much of history we may gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking.[4]

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[1] Miletum, a city in Ionia, was famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities.

[2] This Thargelia, by her beauty, obtained the sovereignty of Thessaly. However, she came to an untimely end; for she was murdered by one of her lovers.

[3] What the employments were to which this Lysicles was advanced, is no where recorded.

[4] It is not to be imagined, that Aspasia excelled in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses, on the contrary, were not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent Athenians, and amongst them by Socrates himself, that she composed the celebrated funeral oration pronounced by Pericles, in honour of those that were slain in the Samian war. It is probable enough, that Pericles undertook that war to avenge the quarrel of the Milesians, at the suggestion of Aspasia who was of Miletum; who is said to have accompanied him in that expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory.

I should not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so very delicate a kind. For though his wife, who was his relation, and had been first married to Hipponicus, by whom she had Callias, the rich, brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together that they parted by consent. She was married to another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard, insomuch, that he never went out upon business, or returned without saluting her. In the comedies she is called the *New Omphale*, *Deianira*, and *Juno*. Cratinus plainly calls her a prostitute—

> ——She bore this *Juno*, this *Aspasia*
> Skill'd in the shameless trade, and every art Of wantonness.

He seems also to have had a natural son by her, for he is introduced by Eupolis inquiring after him thus—

> ——Still lives the offspring of my dalliance?

Pyronides answers—

> He lives, and might have borne the name of husband,
> Did he not dream that every bosom fair, Is not a chaste one.

Such was the fame of Aspasia, that Cyrus, who contended with Artaxerxes for the Persian crown, gave the name of Aspasia to his favourite concubine, who before was called *Milto*. This woman was born in *Phocis*, and was the daughter of Hermotimus. When Cyrus was slain in the battle, she was carried to the king, and had afterwards great influence over him. These particulars occurring to my memory as I wrote this life, I thought it would be a needless affectation of gravity, if not an offence against politeness, to pass them over in silence.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, in favour of the Milesians, at the instigation of Aspasia. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interposed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of the dispute to them; but the Samians refused to comply with this demand. Pericles, therefore, sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took 50 of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those that were desirous to prevent the settling of a democracy among them would have given him much more.[1] Pissuthnes the Persian, who had the interest of the Samians at heart, likewise sent him 10,000 pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner he had resolved on; and having established a popular government in the island, he returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their hostages by

1 Pissuthnes, the son of Hystaspes, was governor of Sardis, and espoused the cause of the Samians of course, because the principal persons among them were in the Persian interest.

some private measure of Pissuthnes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glorious victory, having with 44 ships defeated 70, 20 of which had soldiers on board.

Pursuing his victory, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid seige to the city. They still retained courage enough to sally out and give him battle before the walls. Soon after a greater fleet came from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up; whereupon Pericles took 60 galleys, and steered for the Mediterranean, with a design, as is generally supposed, to meet the Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it at a great distance from the island.

Stesimbrotus, indeed, says, he intended to sail for Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error. For, as soon as he was gone, Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a man distinguished as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left, or else the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly, a battle was fought, and the Samians obtained the victory; for they made many prisoners, destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they wanted. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus, in a former sea-fight.

The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the insult they had received, marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl, as the Athenians had branded them with a *Samæna*, which is a kind of ship built low in the forepart, and wide and hollow in the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing; and it was called *Samæna*, from its being invented in Samos by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks, when he says,

The Samians are a lettered race.

As soon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, he immediately returned with succours,[1] gave Melissus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it; choosing to owe the conquest of it rather to time and expense, than to purchase it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the time spent in the blockade, and that it was difficult to restrain them from the assault, he divided the army into eight parts, and ordered them to draw lots. That division *which drew a white bean*, were to enjoy themselves in ease and pleasure while the others

[1] On his return, he received a reinforcement of fourscore ships, as Thucydides tells us; or ninety according to Diodorus.

fought. Hence it is said, that those who spend the day in feasting and merriment, call that a *white day* from the *white bean*.

Ephorus adds, that Pericles in this siege *made use of battering engines*, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one; and that he had *Artemon* the engineer along with him, who on account of his lameness, was carried about in a litter, when his presence was required to direct the machines, and thence had the surname of *Periphoretus*. But Heraclides of Pontus confutes this assertion by some verses of Anacreon, in which mention is made of Artemon Periphoretus several ages before the Samian war and these transactions of Pericles. And he tells us, this Artemon was a person who gave himself up to luxury, and was withal of a timid and effeminate spirit; that he spent most of his time within doors, and had a shield of brass held over his head by a couple of slaves, lest something should fall upon him. Moreover, that if he happened to be necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter, which hung so low as almost to touch the ground, and therefore was called *Periphoretus*.

After nine months the Samians surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them; part of which they paid down directly, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and seamen seems quite fictitious: he tells us, that Pericles caused them to be brought into the market-place at Miletus, and to be bound to posts there for ten days together, at the end of which he ordered them, by that time in the most wretched condition, to be despatched with clubs, and refused their bodies the honour of burial. Duris, indeed, in his Histories, often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not misled by any interest or passion; and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country, to make the Athenians appear in an odious light.[1]

Pericles, at his return to Athens, after the reduction of Samos, celebrated in a splendid manner the obsequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himself the funeral oration usual on such occasions. This gained him great applause; and, when he came down from the rostrum, the women paid their respects to him, and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Only Elpinice addressed him in terms quite different: "Are these actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citizens; not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in destroying a city

1 Yet Cicero tells us, this Duris was a careful historian, *Homo in historia diligens*. This historian lived in the times of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

united to us both in blood and friendship?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,

Why lavish ointments on a head that's grey?

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conquest, and scrupled not to say, "That Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken the richest and most powerful city among the Ionians in nine months." And indeed he had reason to be proud of this achievement; for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain; since, according to Thucydides, such was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Poloponnesian war was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send succours to the inhabitants of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians;[1] which would be a means to fix in their interest an island whose naval forces were considerable, and might be of great service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, which they had all the reason in the world to expect would be soon. The succours were decreed accordingly, and Pericles sent Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon with ten ships only, as if he designed nothing more than to disgrace him.[2] A mutual regard and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans; and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination, in order that, if nothing great or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods he endeavoured to hinder the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens, one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles, however, finding himself greatly blamed about these ten galleys, an aid by no means sufficient to answer the purpose of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence to accuse him, sent another squadron to Corcyra[3] which did not arrive till the action was over.

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon; and the Megarensians at the same time alleged, that the Athenians would not suffer them to come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out, thereby infringing the common privileges, and breaking the oath they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, too, privately acquainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries done

[1] This war commenced about the little territory of Epidamnum, a city in Macedonia, founded by the Corcyrians.

[2] There seems to be very little colour for this hard assertion. Thucydides says, that the Athenians did not intend the Corcyrians any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on, while the Corinthians and Corcyrians weakened and wasted each other.

[3] But this fleet, which consisted of 20 ships, prevented a second engagement, for which they were preparing.

them by the Athenians, whom they durst not accuse openly. And at this very juncture, Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, but subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of its revolt, hastened on the war.

However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question, and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in war, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarensians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles, therefore, in exerting all his interest to oppose this measure, in retaining his enmity to the Megarensians, and working up the people to the same rancour, was the sole author of the war.

It is said, that when the ambassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens,[1] Pericles pretended there was a law which forbade the taking down any tablet on which a decree of the people was written. "Then," said Polyarces, one of the ambassadors, "do not take it down, but turn the other side outward; there is no law against that." Notwithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, Pericles relented not in the least. He seems, indeed, to have had some private pique against the Megarensians, though the pretext he availed himself of in public was, that they had applied to profane uses certain parcels of sacred ground; and thereupon he procured a decree for a herald to be sent to Megara and Lacedæmon to lay this charge against the Megarensians. This decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald sent with that commission, losing his life by the way, through some treachery (as was supposed,) of the Megarensians, Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and an eternal enmity should subsist between the Athenians and them; that if any Megarensian should set foot on Attic ground, he should be put to death; that to the oath which their generals used to take, this particular should be added, that they would twice a-year make an inroad into the territories of Megara; and that Anthemocritus should be buried at the Thriasian gate, now called *Dipylus*.

The Megarensians, however, deny their being concerned in the

1 The Lacedæmonian ambassadors demanded, in the first place, the expulsion of those Athenians who were styled execrable, on account of the old business of Cylon and his associates, because by his mother's side Pericles was allied to the family of Megacles; they next insisted that the siege of Potidæa should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the Megarensians, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of Athens on pain of death, should be revoked, and the Grecian states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of Athens. Pericles represented to the Athenians, that whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, the true ground of their resentment was the prosperity of the Athenian republic: that, nevertheless, it might be proposed, that the Athenians would reverse their decree against Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free egress and regress in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with Sparta, provided the Spartans would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them then to hazard a war.

murder of Anthemocritus,[1] and lay the war entirely at the door of Aspasia and Pericles; alleging in proof those well-known verses from the *Acharnesis* of Aristophanes:

> The god of wine had with his *Thyrsus* smote
> Some youths, who in their madness stole from Megara
> The prostitute *Simæthis*: in revenge
> Two females, liberal of their smiles, were stolen
> From our *Aspasia's* train.

It is not, indeed, easy to discover what was the real origin of the war; but at the same time all agree, it was the fault of Pericles that the decree against Megara was not annulled. Some say, his firmness in that case was the effect of his prudence and magnanimity, as he considered that demand only as a trial, and thought the least concession would be understood as an acknowledgment of weakness; but others will have it, that his treating the Lacedæmonians with so little ceremony, was owing to his obstinacy, and an ambition to display his power.

But the worst cause of all[2] assigned for the war, and which, notwithstanding, is confirmed by most historians, is as follows: Phidias the statuary had undertaken the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who, willing to make an experiment upon him, what judgment the people might pass on Pericles himself, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to place himself as a suppliant in the *forum*, and to entreat the protection of the republic while he lodged an information against Phidias. The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, was shown to be groundless; for Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid could easily be taken off and weighed; and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy arisen thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias; and it was particularly insisted upon, that in his representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a great stone with both hands,[3] and a high-finished picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. The last was contrived with so much art, that the hand which, in lifting up the spear, partly covered the face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, which yet was very striking on both sides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown into prison, where he died a natural death,[4] though some say poison

[1] Thucydides takes no notice of this herald: and yet it is so certain that the Megarensians were looked upon as the authors of the murder, that they were punished for it many ages after; for on that account the Emperor Adrian denied them many favours and privileges which he granted to the other cities of Greece.

[2] Pericles, when he saw his friends prosecuted, was apprehensive of a prosecution himself, and therefore hastened on a rupture with the Peloponnesians, to turn the attention of the people to war.

[3] They insisted that those modern figures impeached the credit of the ancient history, which did so much honour to Athens, and their founder Theseus.

[4] Others say that he was banished, and that in his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia.

was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of causing Pericles to be suspected. As for the accuser, Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted him, at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety by Hermippus, a comic poet, who likewise accused her of receiving into her house women above the condition of slaves for the pleasure of Pericles. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This charge was levelled first at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the public money before the *Prytanes*, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar,[1] and try the cause in the city; but Agnon caused the last article to be dropped, and instead thereof, it was voted that the action should be laid before the 1500 judges, either for *peculation*, and *taking of bribes*, or simply for *corrupt practices*.

Aspasia was acquitted, though much against the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who, according to Æschines, shed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the same indulgence for Anaxagoras,[2] and therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way; and as he himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war, which as yet was uncertain, and blew up that flame which, till then, was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, because such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. These are said to be the reasons which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians; but what was the real cause is quite uncertain.

The Lacedæmonians, persuaded that if they could remove Pericles out of the way, they should be better able to manage the Athenians, required them to banish all *execrable* persons from among them: and Pericles, as Thucydides informs us, was by his mother's side related to those that were pronounced *execrable* in the affair of Cylon. The success, however, of this application proved

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[1] In some extraordinary cases, where the judges were to proceed with the greatest exactness and solemnity, they were to take *ballots or billets* from the altar, and to inscribe their judgment upon them, or rather to take *the black and the white beans*. What Plutarch means by *trying the cause in the city*, is not easy to determine, unless by the *city* we are to understand *the full assembly of the people*. By the 1500 judges mentioned in the next sentence, is probably meant the court of *Heliæa*, so called because the judges sat in the open air exposed to the sun; for this court, on extraordinary occasions, consisted of that number.

[2] Anaxagoras held the unity of God,—that it was one all-wise intelligence which raised the beautiful structure of the world out of the Chaos. And if such was the opinion of the master, it was natural for the people to conclude, that his scholar Pericles was against the Polytheism of the times.

the reverse of what was expected by those that ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected, or involving him in trouble, it procured him the more confidence and respect from the people, when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. For the same reason he forewarned the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians, and ravaged the rest of the country, should spare his estate, it must be owing either to the rights of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to a design to furnish his enemies with matter of slander, and therefore, from that hour he gave his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army under the conduct of Archidamus; and laying waste all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ,[1] where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but meet them in the field for the honour and safety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of 60,000 men—for such was the number of the Peloponnesians and Bœotians employed in the first expedition—and by that step to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself. As to those that were eager for an engagement, and uneasy at his slow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reason by observing, "That trees, when lopped, will soon grow again; but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired."

In the meantime he took care to hold no assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act against his own opinion; but as a good pilot, when a storm arises at sea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uses his art, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; so Pericles, when he had secured the gates, and placed the guards in every quarter to the best advantage, followed the dictates of his own understanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that resounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, and the threats and accusations of his enemies; notwithstanding the many scoffs and songs sung to vilify his character as a general, and to represent him as one who, in the most dastardly manner, betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon[2] too attacked him with great acrimony, making use of the general resentment against Pericles, as a means to increase his own popularity, as Hermippus testifies in these verses:

> Sleeps then, thou king of Satyrs, sleeps the spear,
> While thundering words make war: why boast thy prowess,
> Yet shudder at the sound of sharpened swords,
> Spite of the flaming Cleon?

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore all this disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out 100 ships, and sent them against Peloponnesus, yet he did not

[1] The borough of Acharnæ was only 1600 paces from the city.

[2] The same Cleon that Aristophanes satirized. By his harangues and political intrigues, he got himself appointed general.

sail with them, but chose to stay and watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands until the Peloponnesians were gone. In order to satisfy the common people, who were very uneasy on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and lands; for, having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. Besides, the sufferings of the enemy afforded them some consolation. The fleet sent against Peloponnesus ravaged a large tract of country, and sacked the small towns and villages; and Pericles himself made a descent upon the territories of Megara,[1] which he laid waste. Whence it appears, that though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet, as they were equally distressed by sea, they could not have drawn out the war to so great a length, but must soon have given it up—as Pericles foretold from the beginning—had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out,[2] which destroyed the flower of the youth and the strength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were affected: for, as persons delirious with a fever set themselves against a physician or a father, so they raved against Pericles and attempted his ruin; being persuaded by his enemies that the sickness was occasioned by the multitude of outdwellers flocking into the city, and a number of people stuffed together, in the height of the summer, in small huts and close cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy inactive life, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. They would needs have it, that he was the cause of all this, who, when the war began, admitted within the walls such crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them, but let them continue penned up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other, without affording them the least relief or refreshment.

Desirous to remedy this calamity, and withal in some degree to annoy the enemy, he manned 150 ships, on which he embarked great numbers of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the enemy no less dreaded so great an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on board his own galley, when *there happened an eclipse of the sun.* The sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloak, and having covered his eyes with it, asked him, "If he found anything terrible in that, or considered it as a sad pressage?" Upon his answering in the negative, he said, "Where is the difference, then, between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloak causes the eclipse?"

[1] He did not undertake this expedition until autumn, when the Lacedæmonians were retired. In the winter of this year the Athenians solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war. Pericles pronounced the oration on that occasion, which Thucydides has preserved

[2] See this plague excellently described by Thucydides, who had it himself. Lib. ii. prop. init

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus,[1] and at first with some rational hopes of success; but the distemper which prevailed in his army broke all his measures, for it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this ill success set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied until they had showed themselves masters, by voting that he should be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which, by the lowest account, was 15 talents—some make it 50. The person that carried on the prosecution against him was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; or according to Theophrastus, Simmias; or Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides, of Pontus.

The public ferment, indeed, soon subsided: the people quitting their resentment with that blow, as a bee leaves its sting in the wound; but his private affairs were in a miserable condition, for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was naturally profuse, and besides had married a young and expensive wife, daughter to Isander, and grand-daughter to Epylicus. He knew not how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied him but sparingly, and with a little at a time, and therefore sent to one of his friends, and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First, he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said, that Epitimius the Pharsalian, having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protogorus, which might be properly deemed the cause of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the president of the games. Stesimbrotus adds, that it was Xanthippus who spread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable hatred against his father to his latest breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister too at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Phralus, his last surviving legitimate son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind; but in putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him;

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[1] This Epidaurus was in Argola. It was consecrated to Esculapius: and Plutarch calls it sacred, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Laconia.

he could not forbear the sad spectacle; he broke out into loud lamentations, and shed a torrent of tears; a passion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial in the course of a year, of the rest of her generals and orators, and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades and his other friends persuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he reassumed the reins of government, and being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author, for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct for want of a successor. The history of that law is as follows:—Many years before, Pericles, in the height of his power, and having several legitimate sons, caused a law to be made that none should be accounted citizens of Athens, but those whose parents were both Athenians.[1] After this, the king of Egypt made the Athenians a present of 40,000 medimni of wheat, and as this was to be divided among the citizens, many persons were proceeded against as illegitimate upon that law, whose birth had never before been called in question, and many were disgraced upon false accusations. Near 5000 were cast and sold for slaves;[2] and 14,000 appeared to be entitled to the privilege of citizens.[3] Though it was unequitable and strange that a law, which had been put in execution with so much severity, should be repealed by the man who first proposed it; yet the Athenians, moved at the late misfortunes in his family, by which he seemed to have sufiered the punishment of his arrogance and pride, and thinking he should be treated with humanity after he felt the wrath of Heaven, permitted him to enrol a natural son in his own tribe, and to give him his own name. This is he who afterwards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people, together with his colleague.[4]

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague, but not with

1 According to Plutarch's account, at the beginning of the life of Themistocles this law was made before the time of Pericles. Pericles, however, might put it more strictly in execution than it had been before, from a spirit of opposition to Cimon, whose children were only of the half blood.

2 The illegitimacy did not reduce men to a state of servitude: it only placed them in the rank of strangers.

3 A small number indeed, at a time when Athens had dared to think of sending out colonies, humbling their neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting a universal monarchy.

4 The Athenians had appointed ten commanders on that occasion. After they had obtained the victory, they were tried, and eight of them were capitally condemned, of whom six that were on the spot were executed, and this natural son of Pericles was one of them. The only crime laid to their charge, was, that they had not buried the dead. Xenophon in his Grecian History, has given a large account of this affair. It happened under the archonship of Callias, the second year of the ninety third olympiad, twenty-four years after the death of Pericles. Socrates the philosopher was at that time one of the Prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. And a little while after the madness of the people turned another way

such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shows. It was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions, and by slow degrees, consumed his body and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his Ethics, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the soul so affected with the disorders of the body as to lose her virtue; and there he relates, that Pericles showed to a friend who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.[1]

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue, and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits and the number of his victories; for, while he was commander-in-chief, he had erected no less than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows:—"I am surprised, that while you dwell upon and extol these acts of mine, though fortune had her share in them, and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, *that no* Athenian, *through my means ever put on mourning.*"

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most excellent attainment, never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity, and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would otherwise be vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable; nay, gives it a propriety. Thus, we think the divine powers as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe. Not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavour to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency by their own writing. For they represent the place which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds, where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure *æther* displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet at the same time, they represent

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1 It does not appear by this that his understanding was weakened, since he knew the *charm* to be a ridiculous piece of superstition, and shewed it to his friend as such; but only that in his extreme sickness he had not resolution enough to refuse what he was sensible would do him no good.

the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man.

The state of public affairs soon showed the want of Pericles,[1] and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those who, in his lifetime, could but ill-brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate; or if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity than Pericles. And his so much envied authority, to which they had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bulwark of the state. So much corruption and such a rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death, which he by proper restraints had palliated,[2] and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities!

NICIAS.

WE have pitched upon Crassus, as a proper person to be put in parallel with Nicias; and the misfortunes which befell the one in Parthia, with those which overtook the other in Sicily. But, we have an apology to make to the reader on another account. As we are now undertaking a history, where Thucydides in the pathetic has even outdone himself, and in energy and variety of composition is perfectly inimitable; we hope no one will suspect we have the ambition of Timæus, who flattered himself he could exceed the power of Thucydides, and make Philistus[3] pass for an inelegant and ordinary writer. Under the influence of that deception, Timæus plunges into the midst of the battles both at sea and land, and speeches in which those historians shine the most. However, he soon appears,

Not like a footman by the Lydian car,

as Pindar expresses it, but a shallow puerile writer,[4] or, to use the words of the poet Diphilus,

——————A heavy animal Cased in Sicilian lard——————

Sometimes he falls into the dreams of Xenarchus:[5] as where he

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1 Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, in the last year of the eighty-seventh olympiad, and 428 B. C.

2 Pericles did indeed palliate the distempers of the commonwealth while he lived, but he sowed the seeds of them, by bribing the people with their own money; with which they were as much pleased as if it had been his.

3 Philistus was so able a writer that Cicero calls him the younger Thucydides.

4 Timæus might have his vanity; and if he hoped to excel Thucydides, he certainly had. Yet Cicero and Diodorus speak of him as a very able historian. Longinus reconciles the censure and the praise. He says, sometimes you find him in the grand and sublime. But, blind to his own defects, he is much inclined to censure others, and is so fond of thinking out of the common road, that he often sinks into the utmost puerility.

5 Xenarchus, the Peripatetic, was master to Strabo; and Xenarchus, the comic poet, was author of several pieces of humour: but we know no historian of that name.

says, "He could not but consider it as a bad omen for the Athenians, that they had a general with a name they derived from victory, who disapproved of the exhibition." As also, "That by the mutilation of the Hermæ, the gods presignified that they should suffer most in the Syracusan war from Hermocrates the son of Hermon."[1] And again, "It is probable that Hercules assisted the Syracusans, because Proserpine delivered up Cerberus to him; and that he was offended at the Athenians for supporting the Ægesteans, who were descended from the Trojans, his mortal enemies, whose city he had sacked, in revenge for the injuries he had received from Laomedon." He made these fine observations with the same discernment which put him upon finding fault with the language of Philistus, and censuring the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

For my part, I cannot but think, all emulation and jealousy about expression betray a littleness of mind, and is the characteristic of a sophist; and when that spirit of contest attempts things inimitable, it is perfectly absurd. Since, therefore, it is impossible to pass over in silence those actions of Nicias which Thucydides and Philistus have recorded; especially such as indicate his manners and disposition, which often lay concealed under the weight of his misfortunes; we shall give an abstract from them of what appears most necessary; lest we should be accused of negligence or indolence. As for other matters not generally known, which are found scattered in historians or in ancient inscriptions and decrees, we shall collect them with care; not to gratify a useless curiosity, but by drawing from them the true lines of this general's character, to serve the purposes of real instruction.

The first thing I shall mention relating to him, is the observation of Aristotle: That three of the most worthy men in Athens, who had a paternal regard and friendship for the people, were Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Milesias, and Theramenes the son of Agnon. The last, indeed, was not so remarkable in this respect as the other two. For he had been reproached with his birth, as a stranger come from the Isle of Ceos; and from his want of firmness, or rather versatility, in matters of government, he was called *the Buskin*.[2]

Thucydides was the oldest of the three; and when Pericles acted a flattering part to the people, he often opposed him in behalf of the nobility. Though Nicias was much the younger man, he gained some reputation while Pericles lived, insomuch that he was several times his colleague in the war, and often commanded alone. But when Pericles died, he was soon advanced to the head of the administration, particularly by the influence of the rich and great, who hoped he would prove a barrier against the daring insolence of Cleon. He had, however, the good wishes of the people, and they contributed their share to his advancement.

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[1] Longinus quotes this passage as an example of the frigid style, and of those puerilities he had condemned in Timæus.

[2] The form of the buskin was such that it might be worn indifferently on either leg.

It is true, Cleon had a considerable interest, which he gained by making his court to the old men, and by his frequent donations to the poor citizens. Yet even many of those whom he studied to oblige, seeing his avarice and effrontery, came over to Nicias. For the gravity of Nicias had nothing austere or morose in it, but was mixed with a reverence for the people in which fear seemed to be prevalent, and consequently was very agreeable to them. Indeed, he was naturally timid and cold-hearted; but this defect was concealed by the long course of success with which fortune favoured his expeditions. And his timidity in the assemblies of the people, and dread of persons who made a trade of impeachments, was a popular thing. It contributed not a little to gain him the regards of the multitude, who are afraid of those that despise them, and love to promote those that fear them, because in general the greatest honour they can hope to obtain is not to be despised by the great.

As Pericles kept the reins of government in his hands by means of real virtue, and by the force of his eloquence, he had no need to hold out false colours, or to use any artifice with the people. Nicias was deficient in those great endowments, but had superior riches, and he applied them to the purposes of popularity. On the other hand, he could not, like Cleon, divert and draw the people by an easy manner and the sallies of buffoonery; and therefore he amused them with the choruses of tragedy, with gymnastic exercises, and such like exhibitions, which far exceeded, in point of magnificence and elegance, all that went before him, and those of his own times too. Two of his offerings to the gods are to be seen at this day; the one a statue of Pallas dedicated in the citadel, which has lost part of its gilding; the other a small chapel in the temple of Bacchus, under the tripods, which are commonly offered up by those who gain the prize in tragedy. Indeed, Nicias was already victorious in those exhibitions. It is said that in a chorus of that kind one of his slaves appeared in the character of Bacchus. The slave was of an uncommon size and beauty, but had not yet arrived at maturity; and the people were so charmed with him, that they gave him long plaudits. At last Nicias rose up and said, "He should think it an act of impiety to retain a person in servitude, who seemed by the public voice to be consecrated to a god;" and he enfranchised him upon the spot.

His regulations with respect to Delos, are still spoken of as worthy of the deity who presides there. Before his time, the choirs which the cities sent to sing the praises of Apollo[1] landed in a disorderly manner, because the inhabitants of the island used to run up to the ship, and press them to sing before they were disembarked; so that they were forced to strike up, as they were putting on their robes and garlands. But when Nicias had the conduct of the ceremony, known by the name of Theoria, he

[1] There was a select band of music annually sent by the principal cities of Greece. The procession was called Theoria, and it was looked upon as an honourable commission to have the management of it.

landed first in the Isle of Rhenia with the choir, the victims, and all the other necessary preparations. He had taken care to have a bridge constructed before he left Athens, which should reach from that isle to Delos, and which was magnificently gilded, being adorned with garlands, rich stuffs, and tapestry. In the night he threw his bridge over the channel, which was not large; and at break of day he marched over it at the head of the procession, with his choir richly habited and singing hymns to the god. After the sacrifices, the games, and banquets were over, he consecrated a palm-tree of brass to Apollo, and likewise a field which he had purchased for 10,000 drachmas. The Delians were to lay out the income in sacrifices and feasting, and at the same time to pray for Apollo's blessing upon the founder. This is inscribed on a pillar, which he left in Delos as a monument of his benefaction. As for the palm-tree, it was broken by the wind, and the fragments falling upon a great statue,[1] which the people of Naxos had set up, demolished it.

It is obvious that most of these things were done for ostentation, and with a view to popularity. Nevertheless, we may collect from the rest of his life and conduct, that religion had the principal share in these dedications, and that popularity was but a secondary motive. For he certainly was remarkable for his fear of the gods, and, as Thucydides observes (Bk. vii.), he was pious to a degree of superstition. It is related in the Dialogues of Pasiphon, that he sacrificed every day, and that he had a diviner in his house, who in appearance inquired the success of the public affairs, but in reality was much oftener consulted about his own; particularly as to the success of his silver mines in the borough of Laurium; which in general afforded a large revenue, but were not worked without danger. He maintained there a multitude of slaves; and the greatest part of his fortune consisted in silver. So that he had many retainers, who asked favours, and were not sent away empty. For he gave not only to those who deserved his bounty, but to such as might be able to do him harm; and bad men found resources in his fears, as well as good men in his liberality. The comic poets bear witness to what I have advanced. Theleclides introduced a trading informer speaking thus: "Charicles would not give one *mina* to prevent my declaring that he was the first fruits of his mother's amours; but Nicias, the son of Niceratus, gave me four. Why he did it, I shall not say, though I know it perfectly well. For Nicias is my friend, a very wise man besides, in my opinion. Eupolis, in his *Marica*, brings another informer upon the stage, who meets with some poor ignorant man, and thus addresses him:—

Informer.—"How long is it since you saw Nicias?" *Poor man.*—"I never saw him before this moment, when he stood in the market place." *Informer.*—"Take notice, my friends, the man

[1] A statue which the Naxians had dedicated to Apollo. The pedestal has been discovered by some modern travellers.

confesses he has seen Nicias. And for what purpose could he see him, but to sell him his vote? Nicias, therefore, is plainly taken in the fact." *Poet.*—"Ah fools! do you think you can ever persuade the world that so good a man as Nicias was taken in malpractices."

Cleon in Aristophanes, says in a menacing tone, "I will outbawl the orators, and make Nicias tremble."[1] And Phrynichus glances at his excessive timidity, when, speaking of another person, he says, "I know him to be an honest man, and a good citizen, one who does not walk the streets with a downcast look like Nicias."

With this fear of informers upon him, he would not sup or discourse with any of the citizens, or come into any of those parties which make the time pass so agreeably. When he was archon, he used to stay in court till night, being always the first that came, and the last that went away. When he had no public business upon his hands, he shut himself up at home, and was extremely difficult of access. And if any persons came to the gate, his friends went and begged them to excuse Nicias, because he had some affairs under consideration which were of great importance to the state.

The person who assisted him most in acting this farce, and gaining him the reputation of a man for ever intent upon business, was one Hiero, who was brought up in his house, had a liberal education, and a taste for music given him there. He passed himself for the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, some of whose poems are still extant, and who having conducted a colony into Italy, founded the city of Thurii. This Hiero transacted all the private business of Nicias with the diviners; and whenever he came among the people, he used to tell them, "What a laborious and miserable life Nicias led for their sake. He cannot go to the bath," said he, "or the table, but some affair of state solicits his attention: and he neglects his own concerns to take care of the public. He can scarce find time for repose till the other citizens have had their first sleep. Amidst these cares and labours his health declines daily, and his temper is so broken that his friends no longer approach him with pleasure; but he loses them too, after having spent his fortune in your service. Meanwhile other statesmen gain friends, and grow rich in their employments, and are sleek and merry in the steerage of government."

In fact, the life of Nicias was a life of so much care, that he might have justly applied to himself that expression of Agamemnon,

> In vain the glare of pomp proclaims me master, I'm servant of the people —

Nicias perceived that the commons availed themselves of the services of those who were distinguished for their eloquence or capacity; but that they were always jealous and on their guard against their great abilities, and that they endeavoured to humble them, and to obstruct their progress in glory. This appeared in the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, the suspicions

[1] This is in the Equites of Aristophanes, v. 357. It is not Cleon, but Agoracritus who speaks

they entertained of Antipho the Rhamnusian, but above all in the despair of Paches, who had taken Lesbos, and who being called to give an account of his conduct, drew his sword and killed himself in open court.

Warned by these examples, he endeavoured to avoid such expeditions as he thought long and difficult; and when he did take the command, he made it his business to proceed upon a sure plan. For this reason he was generally successful: yet he ascribed his success to fortune, and took refuge under the wings of that divinity; contenting himself with a smaller portion of honour, lest envy should rob him of the whole.

The event shewed the prudence of his conduct. For, though the Athenians received many great blows in those times, none of them could be imputed to Nicias. When they were defeated by the Chalcideans in Thrace, Calliades and Xenophon had the command; *Demosthenes was general*, when they miscarried in Ætolia; and when they lost 1000 men at Delium, they were under the conduct of Hippocrates.

None of these misfortunes were imputed to Nicias: on the contrary, he took Cythera, an island well situated for annoying Laconia, and at that time inhabited by Lacedæmonians. He recovered many places in Thrace which had revolted from the Athenians. He shut up the Megarensians within their walls, and reduced the island of Minoa. From thence he made an excursion soon after, and got possession of the port of Nisæa. He likewise made a descent upon the territories of Corinth, beat the troops of that state in a pitched battle, and killed great numbers of them. Lycophron, their general, was among the slain.

He happened to leave there the bodies of two of his men, who were missed in carrying off the dead. But as soon as he knew it, he stopped his course, and sent a herald to the enemy, to ask leave to take away those bodies. This he did, though there was a law and custom subsisting, by which those who desire a treaty for carrying off the dead, give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy. And indeed, those who are so far masters of the field, that the enemy cannot bury their dead without permission, appear to be conquerors, because no man would ask that as a favour which he could command. Nicias, however, chose rather to lose his laurels than to leave two of his countrymen unburied.[1]

After he had ravaged the coast of Laconia, and defeated the Lacedæmonians who attempted to oppose him, he took the fortress of Thyræa,[2] then held by the Æginetæ, made the garrison prisoners,

1 The burying of the dead was a duty of great importance in the heathen world. The fable of the ghost of an unburied person not being allowed to pass the Styx, is well known. About eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put six of their generals to death, for not interring those soldiers that were slain in the battle of Arginusæ.

2 Thyræa was a fort situated between Laconia and the territory of the Argives. It belonged of right to the Lacedæmonians, but they gave it to the Æginetæ, who had been expelled their country.

and carried them to Athens. Demosthenes having fortified Pylos,[1] the Peloponnesians besieged it both by sea and land. A battle ensued in which they were worsted, and about 400 Spartans threw themselves into the isle of Sphacteria. The taking of them seemed, and indeed was, an important object to the Athenians. But the siege was difficult, because there was no water to be had upon the spot, and it was troublesome and expensive to get convoys thither. In summer they were obliged to take a long circuit, and in winter it was absolutely impracticable. They were much perplexed about the affair, and repented their refusing the terms of peace which the Lacedæmonians had offered by their ambassadors.

It was through Cleon that the embassy did not take effect; he opposed the peace, because Nicias was for it. Cleon was his mortal enemy, and seeing him countenance the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people to reject their propositions by a formal decree. But when they found that the siege was drawn out to a great length, and that there was almost a famine in their camp, they expressed their resentment against Cleon. Cleon, for his part, laid the blame upon Nicias, alleging that if the enemy escaped, it must be through his slow and timid operations. "Had I been the general," said he, "they could not have held out so long." The Athenians readily answered, "Why do not you go now against these Spartans?" And Nicias rose up and declared, "He would freely give up to him the command in the affair of Pylos; bade him take what forces he pleased; and, instead of showing his courage in words, where there was no danger, go and perform some actions worthy the attention of his country."

Cleon, disconcerted with the unexpected offer, declined it at first. But when he found the Athenians insisted upon it, and that Nicias took his advantage to raise a clamour against him, his pride was hurt, and he was incensed to such a degree, that he not only undertook the expedition, but declared, "He would in twenty days either put the enemy to the sword, or bring them alive to Athens."

The people laughed at his declaration,[2] instead of giving it any credit. Indeed, they had long been accustomed to divert themselves with the sallies of his vanity. One day, for instance, when a general assembly was to be held, they had sat waiting for him a long time. At last he came when their patience was almost spent, with a garland on his head, and desired them to adjourn until the day following: "For, to-day," says he, "I am not at leisure; I have strangers to entertain, and I have sacrificed to the gods." The Athenians only laughed, and immediately rose up and dismissed the assembly.

Cleon, however, was so much favoured by fortune in this com-

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1 The Peloponnesians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis, the son of Archidamus, and ravaged the country. Demosthenes, the Athenian general, made a diversion by seizing and fortifying Pylos. This brought Agis back to the defence of his own country.—Thucyd. l. iv.

2 The wiser sort hoped either to have the pleasure of seeing the Lacedæmonians brought prisoners to Athens, or else of getting rid of the pretensions of Cleon.

mission, that he acquitted himself better than any one since Demosthenes. He returned within the time he had fixed, after he had made all the Spartans who did not fall in battle deliver up their arms, and brought them prisoners to Athens.

This reflected no small disgrace upon Nicias. It was considered as something worse than throwing away his shield, meanly to quit his command and to give his enemy an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his abdication. Hence Aristophanes ridicules him in his comedy called *The Birds*. "By heaven, this is no time for us to slumber, or to imitate the lazy operations of Nicias." And in his piece entitled *The Husbandman*, he introduces two Athenians discoursing thus—

1st Athenian—"I had rather stay at home and till the ground." *2nd Athenian*—"And who hinders thee?" *1st Athenian*—"You hinder me. And yet I am willing to pay 1000 drachmas to be excused taking the commission." *2nd Athenian*—Let us see. Your 1000 drachmas, with those of Nicias, will make 2000. We will excuse you."

Nicias, in this affair, was not only unjust to himself but to the state. He suffered Cleon by this means to gain such an ascendant as led him to a degree of pride and effrontery that was insupportable. Many evils were thus brought upon the commonwealth of which Nicias himself had his full share. We cannot but consider it as one great corruption, that Cleon now banished all decorum from the general assembly. It was he who, in his speeches, first broke out into violent exclamations, threw back his robes, smote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the *rostrum* to the other. This soon introduced such a licentiousness and disregard to decency among those who directed the affairs of state, that it threw the whole government into confusion.

At this time there sprung up another orator at Athens. This was Alcibiades. He did not prove so totally corrupt as Cleon. As it is said of the land of Egypt, that on account of its extreme fertility—

> There plenty sows the fields with herbs salubrious,
> But scatters many a baneful weed between.

So in Alcibiades there were very different qualities, but all in extremes; and these extremes opened a door to many innovations; so that when Nicias got clear of Cleon, he had no time to establish any lasting tranquillity in Athens; but as soon as he had got things into a safe track, the ambition of Alcibiades came upon him like a torrent, and bore him back into the storms of war.

The persons who most opposed the peace of Greece, were Cleon and Brasidas. War helped to hide the vices of the former, and to show the good qualities of the latter. Cleon found opportunity for acts of injustice and oppression, and Brasidas for great and glorious actions. But after they both fell in the battle near Amphipolis, Nicias applied to the Lacedæmonians on one hand, who had been for some time desirous of peace, and to the Athenians on the other, now no longer so warm in the pursuits of war. In fact, both parties

were tired of hostilities, and ready to let their weapons drop out of their hands. Nicias, therefore, used his endeavours to reconcile them, and indeed to deliver all the Greeks from the calamities they had suffered; to bring them to taste the sweets of repose; and to re-establish a long and lasting reign of happiness. He immediately found the rich, the aged, and all that were employed in the culture of the ground, disposed to peace; and by addressing himself to the rest, and expostulating with them respectively, he soon abated their ardour for war.

His next step was to give the Spartans hopes of an accommodation, and to exhort them to propose such measures as might effect it. They readily confided in him, because they knew the goodness of his heart, of which there was a late instance in his humane treatment of their countrymen who were taken prisoners at Pylos, and who found their chains greatly lightened by his good offices.

They had already agreed to a suspension of arms for one year, during which time they often met, and enjoyed again the pleasures of ease and security, the company of strangers as well as nearer friends, and expressed their mutual wishes for the continuance of a life undisturbed with the horrors of war. It was with great delight they heard the chorus in such strains as this—

Arachne freely now has leave Her webs around my spear to weave.

They recollected with pleasure the saying, "That in time of peace men are awakened not by the sound of the trumpet, but the crowing of the cock." They execrated those who said, it was decreed by fate that the war should last three times nine years,[1] and this free intercourse leading them to canvas every point, they at last signed the peace.[2]

It was now the general opinion that they were at the end of all their troubles. Nothing was talked of but Nicias. He, they said, was a man beloved of the gods, who, in recompence of his piety, had thought proper that the greatest and most desirable of all blessings should bear his name. It is certain they ascribed the peace to Nicias, as they did the war to Pericles. And, indeed, the one would plunge them upon slight pretences into numberless calamities, and the other persuaded them to bury the greatest of injuries in oblivion, and to unite again as friends. It is therefore called the *Nicean* peace to this very day.

It was agreed in the articles, that both parties should restore the towns and the prisoners they had taken; and it was to be determined by lot which of them should do it first; but according to Theophrastus, Nicias secured the lot by dint of money, so that the Lacedæmonians were forced to lead the way. As the Corinthians and Bœotians were displeased at these proceedings, and endeavoured

1 "I remember," says Thucydides, "that throughout the whole war many mentioned it was to last three times nine years. And if we reckon the first ten years of the war, the truce very short and ill observed that followed it, the treaties ill executed, and the war that was renewed thereupon we shall find the oracle fully justified by the event."—THUCYD. l. v.

2 Peace for 50 years was agreed upon and signed the year following: but it was soon broken again.

by sowing jealousies between the contracting powers, to renew the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to confirm the peace, and to support each other by a league offensive and defensive. This he expected would intimidate those who were inclined to fly off.

During these transactions, Alcibiades at first made it his business privately to oppose the peace, for he was naturally disinclined to inaction, and was moreover offended at the Lacedæmonians on account of their attachment to Nicias, and their neglect and disregard of him. But when he found this private opposition ineffectual, he took another method. In a little time he saw the Athenians did not look upon the Lacedæmonians with so obliging an eye as before, because they thought themselves injured by the alliance which their new friends had entered into with the Bœotians, and because they had not delivered up Panactus and Amphipolis in the condition they found them. He therefore dwelt upon these points, and endeavoured to inflame the people's resentment. Besides, he persuaded, and at last prevailed upon the republic of Argos to send an embassy, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with the Athenians.

When the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of this, they sent ambassadors to Athens with full powers to settle all matters in dispute. These plenipotentiaries were introduced to the senate, and their proposals seemed perfectly just and reasonable. Alcibiades, upon this, fearing they would gain the people by the same overtures, circumvented them by perfidious oaths and asseverations, "Promising he would secure the success of their commission, if they would not declare that they came with full powers, and assuring them, that no other method would be so effectual." They gave credit to his insinuations, and went over from Nicias to him.

Upon introducing them to the people, the first question that he asked them was, "Whether they came with full powers?" They denied it, as they were instructed. Then Alcibiades, beyond all their expectations, changing sides, called the senate to bear witness to their former declarations, and desired the people "Not to give the least credit or attention to such manifest prevaricators, who upon the same point asserted one thing one day, and another thing the next. Their confusion was inexpressible, as may well be imagined, and Nicias was struck dumb with grief and astonishment. The people of course sent immediately for the deputies of Argos to conclude the treaty with them. But at that very moment there happened a slight shock of an earthquake, which, favourably for Nicias, broke up the assembly.

Next day they assembled again; and Nicias, by exerting all his powers, with much difficulty prevailed upon them not to put the last hand to the league with Argos; but instead of that, to send him to Sparta,[1] where he assured them all would be well. When he arrived there he was treated with great respect, as a man of honour, and one who had shown that republic great friendship; however, as the

1 There were others joined in commission with him.

party that had favoured the Bœotians was the strongest, he could effect nothing.[1] He returned therefore, not only with disrepute and disgrace, but was apprehensive of worse consequences from the Athenians, who were greatly chagrined and provoked, that at his persuasion, they had set free so many prisoners, and prisoners of such distinction. For those brought from Pylos were of the first families in Sparta, and had connexions with the greatest personages there. Notwithstanding this, they did not express their resentment in any act of severity; they only elected Alcibiades general, and took the Mantineans and Eleans, who had quitted the Lacedæmonian interest into league with them along with the Argives. They then sent a marauding party to Pylos, from thence to make excursions into Laconia. Thus the war broke out afresh.

As the quarrel between Nicias and Alcibiades rose daily to a greater height, the ostracism was proposed. To this the people have recourse at certain periods, and by it they expel for ten years any one who is suspected for his authority, or envied for his wealth. Both parties were greatly alarmed at the danger, not doubting that it would fall to the lot of one of them. The Athenians detested the life and manners of Alcibiades, and at the same time they dreaded his enterprising spirit. As for Nicias, his riches exposed him to envy, and the rather, because there was nothing social or popular in his manner of living; on the contrary, his recluse turn seemed owing to an inclination for oligarchy, and perfectly in a foreign taste. Besides, he had combated their opinions, and by making them pursue their own interest against their inclination, was of course become obnoxious. The whole was a dispute between the young who wanted war, and the old who were lovers of peace. The former endeavoured to make the ostracism fall upon Nicias, and the latter on Alcibiades:

> But in seditions bad men rise to honour.

The Athenians being divided into two factions, the subtlest and most profligate of wretches gained ground. Such was Hyperbolus of the ward of Perithois; a man whose boldness was not owing to any well-grounded influence, but whose influence was owing to his boldness; and who disgraced the city by the credit he had acquired.

This wretch had no apprehensions of banishment by the honourable suffrage of the ostracism, because he knew himself fitter for a gibbet. Hoping, however, that if one of these great men were banished, he should be able to make head against the other, he dissembled not his joy at this spirit of party, but strove to exasperate the people against both. Nicias and Alcibiades, taking notice of his malice, came to a private interview, in which they agreed to unite their interests; and by that means avoided the ostracism themselves, and turned it upon Hyperbolus.

At first the people were pleased, and laughed at the strange turn things had taken; but upon recollection it gave them great uneasi-

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1 Nicias insisted that the Spartans should renounce their alliance with the Bœotians, because they had not consented to the peace.

ness to think that the ostracism was dishonoured by its falling upon a person unworthy of it. They were persuaded there was a dignity in that punishment; or rather, that to such men as Thucydides and Aristides it was a punishment; whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honour which he might be proud of, since his profligacy had put him on the same list with the greatest patriots. Hence Plato, the comic poet, thus speaks of him, "No doubt his crimes deserved chastisement, but a very different chastisement from that which he received. The shell was not designed for such wretches as he."

In fact, no one afterwards was banished by it. He was the last, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant, was the first. From this event it appears how intricate are the ways of fortune—how incomprehensible to human reason. Had Nicias run the risk of the ostracism, he would either have expelled Alcibiades, and lived afterwards in his native city in full security; or if it had been carried against him, and he had been forced to retire, he would have avoided the impending stroke of misery, and preserved the reputation of a wise and experienced general. I am not ignorant that Theophrastus says, Hyperbolus was banished in the contest between Phæax and Alcibiades, and not in that with Nicias; but most historians give it as above related.

About this time the Ægesteans and Leontines sent an embassy to desire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition. Nicias opposed it, but was overruled by the address and ambition of Alcibiades. Indeed, Alcibiades had previously gained the assembly by his discourses, and corrupted the people to such a degree with vain hopes, that the young men in their places of exercise, and the old men in the shops and other places where they conversed, drew plans of Sicily, and exhibited the nature of its seas, with all its ports and bearings on the side next Africa. For they did not consider Sicily as the reward of their operations, but only as a place of arms; from whence they were to go upon the conquest of Carthage; nay, of all Africa, and to make themselves masters of the seas within the pillars of Hercules.

While they were so intent upon this expedition, Nicias had not many on his side, either among the commons or nobility, to oppose it; for the rich, fearing it might be thought they were afraid to serve in person, or to be at the expense of fitting out men of war, sat silent, contrary to their better judgment. Nicias, however, opposed it indefatigably, nor did he give up his point after the decree was passed for the war, and he was elected general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, and his name first in the suffrages. In the first assembly that was held after that, he rose to dissuade them, and to protest against their proceedings. In conclusion, he attacked Alcibiades for plunging the state in a dangerous and foreign war, merely with a view to his own emolument and fame. But his arguments had no effect. They thought a man of his experience the fitter to conduct this enterprise; and that nothing could contribute more to its success, than to unite his caution with the fiery spirit of Alcibiades, and the boldness of Lamachus; there-

fore they were still more confirmed in their choice. Besides, Demostratus, who of all the orators took most pains to encourage the people to that war, rose and said, he would soon cut off all the excuses of Nicias; and immediately he proposed and carried an order, that the generals should have the discretionary power to lay plans and put them in execution, both at home and abroad.

It is said, indeed, that the priests strongly opposed the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners to set against them; and he gave it out that certain ancient oracles promised the Athenians great glory in Sicily. The envoys, too, who were sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, returned with an answer importing that the Athenians would take all the Syracusans.

If any of the citizens knew of bad presages, they took care to conceal them, lest they should seem to pronounce anything inauspicious of an enterprise which their countrymen had too much at heart. Nor would any warnings have availed, when they were not moved at the most clear and obvious signs. Such was the mutilation of the *Hermæ*,[1] whose heads were all struck off in one night, except that which was called the Mercury of Andocides, and which had been consecrated by the tribe of Egis, before the door of that person. Such also was the pollution of the altar of the twelve gods. A man got astride upon it, and there emasculated himself with a stone. In the temple of Delphi there was a golden statue of Pallas, which the Athenians had erected upon a palm-tree of brass, in commemoration of the victory over the Medes. The crows came and beaked it for several days, and pecked off the golden fruit of the tree.

The Athenians, however, said these were only fictions propagated at Delphi at the instigation of the Syracusans. A certain oracle ordered them to fetch a priestess of Minerva from Clazomenæ; and when she came, they found her name was *Hesychia*, by which the Deity seemed to exhort them to continue in quiet. Meton, the astrologer, whether he was struck with these signs, or whether by the eye of human reason he discovered the impending danger (for he had a command in the army,) feigned himself mad, and set fire to his house. Others say, he used no pretence to madness, but having burned down his house in the night, addressed himself next morning to the assembly in a forlorn condition, and desired the citizens, in compassion for his misfortune, to excuse his son, who was to have gone out captain of a galley to Sicily.

The genius of Socrates *(In Theag.)* on this occasion, warned that wise man by the usual tokens, that the expedition would prove fatal to Athens. He mentioned this to several of his friends and acquaintance, and the warning was commonly talked of. Many were likewise greatly discouraged on account of the time when the fleet happened to be sent out. The women were then celebrating the feasts of Adonis, during which there were to be seen in every quarter of the city images of the dead and funeral processions; the women

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[1] The *Hermæ*, or statues of Mercury, were square figures placed by the Athenians at the gates of their temples and the doors of their houses.

accompanying them with dismal lamentations. So that those who took any account of omens, were full of concern for the fate of their countrymen. They trembled to think that an armament fitted at so vast an expense, and which made so glorious an appearance, would soon lose its consequence.

As for Nicias, he shewed himself a wise and worthy man, in opposing the expedition while it was under consideration; and in not suffering himself, after it was resolved upon, to be deluded by vain hopes, or by the eminence of his post, so as to depart from his opinion. Nevertheless, when he could neither divert the people from their purpose, nor by all his efforts get himself excused from taking the command, but was placed, as it were by violence, at the head of a great army; it was then no time for caution and timid delay. He should not then have looked back from his ship like a child: or, by a multitude of protestations that his better counsels were overruled, have disheartened his colleagues, and abated the ardour of his troops, which alone could give him a chance of success. He should have immediately attacked the enemy with the utmost vigour, and made Fortune blush at the calamities she was preparing.

But his conduct was very different. When Lamachus proposed to make a descent close by Syracuse (*Thu.* l. vi.,) and to give battle under the walls; and Alcibiades was of opinion, they should first reduce the cities that owned the authority of Syracuse, and then march against the principal enemy: Nicias opposed both. He gave it for coasting along Sicily without any act of hostility, and shewing what an armament they had. Then he was for returning to Athens, after having left a small reinforcement with the Ægesteans, as a taste of the Athenian strength. Thus he intercepted all their schemes, and broke down their spirits.

The Athenians, soon after this, called Alcibiades home to take his trial; and Nicias remained, joined indeed with another in commission, but first in authority. There was now no end of his delays. He either made an idle parade of sailing along the coast, or else sat still deliberating; until the spirit of confidence which buoyed up his own troops was evaporated and gone, as well as the consternation with which the enemy were seized at the first sight of his armament.

It is true, before the departure of Alcibiades, they had sailed towards Syracuse with 60 galleys, 50 of which they drew up in line of battle before the harbour; the other 10 they sent in to reconnoitre the place. These advanced to the foot of the walls, and, by proclamation, invited the Leontines to return to their old habitations.[1] At the same time they happened to take one of the enemy's vessels, with the registers on board, in which all the Syracusans were set

[1] They ordered proclamation to be made by a herald, that the Athenians were come to restore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance between them. In consequence of which, such of the Leontines as were in Syracuse, had nothing to do but to repair to the Athenians, who would take care to conduct them.

down according to their tribes. They used to be kept at some distance from the city in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but were then sent for to be examined, in order to the forming a list of persons able to bear arms. When these registers were brought to the Athenian generals, and such a prodigious number of names was displayed, the diviners were greatly concerned at the accident; thinking the prophecy, that the Athenians should take all the Syracusans, might possibly in this have its entire accomplishment on another occasion, when Calippus the Athenian, after he had killed Dion, made himself master of Syracuse.

When Alcibiades quitted Sicily with a small retinue, the whole power devolved upon Nicias. Lamachus, indeed, was a man of great courage and honour, and he freely exposed his person in time of action; but his circumstances were so mean, that whenever he gave in his accounts of a campaign, he charged a small sum for clothes and sandals. Nicias, on the contrary, besides his other advantages, derived great authority from his eminence, both as to wealth and name. We are told that on another occasion, when the Athenian generals met in a council of war, Nicias desired Sophocles the poet to give his opinion first, because he was the oldest man. "It is true," said Sophocles, "I am older in respect of years; but you are older in respect of service." In the same manner he now brought Lamachus to act under his orders, though he was the abler general, and his proceedings were for ever timid and dilatory. At first he made the circuit of the island with his ships at a great distance from the enemy, which served only to raise their spirits. His first operation was to lay siege to the little town of Hybla; and not succeeding in that affair, he exposed himself to the utmost contempt. Afterwards he retired to Catana, without any other exploit than that of ruining Hyccara, a small place subject to the barbarians. Lais, the courtesan, who was then a girl, is said to have been sold among the prisoners, and carried from thence to Peloponnesus.

Towards the end of the summer, he was informed, the Syracusans were come to that degree of confidence that they designed to attack him. Nay, some of their cavalry rode up to his trenches, and asked his troops in great derision, "Whether they were not rather come to settle in Catana themselves, than to settle the Leontines in their old habitations."

Nicias, now, at last, with much difficulty determined to sail for Syracuse. In order to land his forces, and encamp them without running any risk, he sent a person to Catana before him, who, under pretence of being a deserter, should tell the Syracusans, that if they wanted to surprise the enemy's camp, in a defenceless state, and make themselves masters of their arms and baggage, they had nothing to do but to march to Catana with all their forces on a day that he mentioned. For the Athenians he said, passed the greatest part of their time within the walls: and such of the inhabitants as were friends to the Syracusans had determined, upon their approach, to shut in the enemy, and to burn their fleet. At the same time, he

assured them, their partisans were very numerous, and waited with impatience for their arrival.[1]

This was the best act of generalship Nicias performed in Sicily. Having drawn by this means the enemy's force out of Syracuse, so that it was left almost without defence, he sailed thither from Catana, made himself master of their ports, and encamped in a situation where the enemy could least annoy him by that in which their chief strength consisted, and where he could easily exert the strength in which he was superior.

The Syracusans, at their return from Catana, drew up before the walls, and Nicias immediately attacked and beat them. They did not, however, lose any great number of men, because their cavalry stopped the Athenians in the pursuit. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges that were upon the river, he gave Hermocrates opportunity to encourage the Syracusans, by observing, "That it was ridiculous in Nicias to contrive means to prevent fighting; as if fighting was not the business he came about." Their consternation, indeed, was so great that, instead of the fifteen generals they had, they chose three others, and the people promised, upon oath, to indulge them with a power of acting at discretion.

The temple of Jupiter Olympius was near the camp, and the Athenians were desirous to take it, because of the quantity of its rich offerings in gold and silver. But Nicias industriously put off the attack, and suffered a Syracusan garrison to enter it; persuaded that the plunder his troops might get there would be of no service to the public, and that he should bear all the blame of the sacrilege.

The news of the victory soon spread over the whole island, but Nicias made not the least improvement of it. He soon retired to Naxos,[2] and wintered there: keeping an army on foot at a great expense, and effecting but little; for only a few Sicilians came over to him. The Syracusans recovered their spirits again so as to make another excursion to Catana, in which they ravaged the country, and burned the Athenian camp. Meanwhile all the world censured Nicias, and said, that by his long deliberations, delays, and extreme caution, he lost the time for action. When he did act, there was nothing to be blamed in the manner of it: for he was as bold and vigorous in executing as he was timid and dilatory in forming a resolution.

When he had once determined to return with his forces to Syracuse, he conducted all his movements with so much prudence, expedition, and safety, that he had gained the peninsula of Thapsos, disembarked his men, and got possession of Epipolæ, before the enemy knew of his approach. He beat on this occasion some infantry that were sent to succour the fort, and made 300 prisoners; he likewise routed their cavalry, which was thought invincible.

But what most astonished the Sicilians, and appeared incredible

[1] Nicias knew he could not make a descent from his ships near Syracuse, because the inhabitants were prepared for him; nor could he go by land for want of cavalry.

[2] A city between Syracuse and Catana.

to the Greeks, was, that in a short space of time he enclosed Syracuse with a wall, a city not less than Athens, and much more difficult to be surrounded by such a work, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the vicinity of the sea, and the adjoining marshes. Add to this, that it was almost effected by a man whose health was by no means equal to such an undertaking, for he was afflicted with the stone; and if it was not entirely finished, we must impute it to that circumstance.

I cannot, indeed, but admire the attention of the general, and the invincible courage of the soldiers, in effecting what they did, in this as well as in other instances. Euripides, after their defeat and death, wrote this epitaph for them—

Eight trophies these from Syracuse obtain'd, Ere yet the gods were partial.

And in fact we find that the Athenians gained not only eight, but several more victories of the Syracusans, till the gods or fortune declared against them, at a time when they were arrived at the highest pitch of power. Nicias forced himself beyond what his health would allow, to attend most of the actions in person; but when his distemper was very violent, he was obliged to keep his bed in the camp, with a few servants to wait upon him.

Meantime, Lamachus, who was now commander-in-chief, came to an engagement with the Syracusans, who were drawing a cross wall from the city, to hinder the Athenians from finishing theirs. The Athenians generally having the advantage, went in too disorderly a manner upon the pursuit; and it happened one day that Lamachus was left almost alone to receive the enemy's cavalry. Callicrates, an officer remarkable for his strength and courage, advanced before them, and gave Lamachus the challenge; which he did not decline. Lamachus received the first wound, which proved mortal, but he returned it upon his adversary, and they fell both together. The Syracusans remained masters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off, and without losing a moment, marched to the Athenian camp, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. Roused, however, by necessity and the sight of his danger, he ordered those about him to set fire to the materials before the intrenchments which were provided for the machines, and to the machines themselves. This put a stop to the Syracusans, and saved Nicias, together with the Athenian camp and baggage. For as soon as they beheld the flames rising in vast columns between the camp and them, they retired.

Nicias now remained sole commander, but he had reason to form the most sanguine hopes of success. The cities declared for him, and ships laden with provisions came daily to his camp; his affairs being in so good a train that the Sicilians strove which should first express their attachment. The Syracusans themselves, despairing of holding out much longer, began to talk of proposals for an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their succour, being informed of the wall with which they were enclosed, and the extremities they were reduced to, continued his

voyage, not with a view to Sicily, which he gave up for lost, but, if possible, to save the Greek cities in Italy. For the renown of the Athenians was now very extensive; it was reported that they carried all before them, and that they had a general whose prudence as well as good fortune, rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was suddenly elated by his present strength and success; the more so, because he was persuaded, upon private intelligence from Syracuse, as well as more public application, that the city was about to capitulate. Hence it was that he took no account of the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any regular guard to prevent his coming ashore; so that, screened by this utter negligence Gylippus landed with safety. It was at a great distance from Syracuse, and he found means to collect a considerable army. But the Syracusans were so far from knowing or expecting his arrival, that they had assembled that very day to consider of articles of capitulation; nay, some were for coming to terms that moment, before the city was absolutely enclosed. For there was but a small part of the wall unfinished, and all the necessary material were upon the spot.

At this critical and dangerous instant, Gongylus arrived from Corinth with one galley of three banks of oars. The whole town was in motion, as might naturally be expected. He told them Gylippus would soon come, with several other ships, to their succour. They could not give entire credit to Gongylus; but while they were weighing the matter, a messenger arrived from Gylippus, with orders that they should march out to join him. Immediately upon this, they recovered their spirits, and armed. Gylippus soon arrived and put his troops in order of battle. As Nicias was drawing up against him, Gylippus rested his arms, and sent a herald with an offer of safe conduct to the Athenians, if they would quit Sicily. Nicias did not deign to give him any answer; but some of the soldiers asked him, by way of ridicule, "Whether the Syracusans were become so strong by the arrival of one Lacedæmonian cloak and staff, as to despise the Athenians who had lately knocked off the fetters of 300 Spartans and released them, though all abler men, and better haired than Gylippus!"

Timæus says the Sicilians set no great value upon Gylippus; for in a little time they discovered his sordid avarice and meanness; and, at his first appearance, they laughed at his cloak and head of hair. Yet the same historian relates, that as soon as Gylippus shewed himself, the Sicilians gathered about him, as birds do about an owl, and were ready to follow him wherever he pleased. And the latter account has more truth in it than the former. In the staff and cloak they beheld the symbols of the Spartan dignity, and therefore repaired to them. Thucydides also tells us that Gylippus was the only man who saved Sicily; and Phylistus, a citizen of Syracuse, and an eye-witness of those transactions, does the same.

In the first engagement the Athenians had the advantage, and killed some of the Syracusans. Gongylus of Corinth fell at this time. But the next day Gylippus shewed them of what consequence

experience in a general is; with the very same arms and horses, and on the same spot, by only altering his order of battle,[1] he beat the Athenians, and drove them to their camp. Then taking the stones and other materials which they had brought for their wall, he continued the cross wall of the Syracusans, and cut through theirs in such a manner, that if they gained a victory, they could make no advantage of it.

Encouraged by this success, the Syracusans manned several vessels; and beating about the country with their cavalry and allies, they made many prisoners. Gylippus applied to the towns in person, and they readily listened to him and lent him all the assistance in their power. So that Nicias, relapsing into his former fears and despondence, at the sight of such a change of affairs, applied to the Athenians by letter, either to send another army, or to recall that which he had; and at the same time he desired them by all means to dismiss him from the command, on account of his infirmities.

The Athenians had designed some time before to send another army into Sicily; but the envy which the first success of Nicias had excited, had made them put it off upon several pretences. Now, however, they hastened the succours. They likewise came to a resolution, that Demosthenes should go in the spring with a respectable fleet; and that Eurymedon, with 10 galleys, without waiting till winter was over, should carry money to pay the troops, and acquaint Nicias that the people had pitched upon Euthydemus and Menander, officers who then served under him, to assist him in his charge.

Meantime, Nicias was suddenly attacked both by sea and land. At first, part of his fleet was worsted; but in the end he proved victorious, and sunk many of the enemy's ships. He could not, however, succour his troops by land, as the exigence of the case required. Gylippus made a sudden attack upon the fort of Plemmyrium, and took it; by which means he became master of the naval stores of the Athenians, and a great quantity of treasure, which had been lodged there. Most of the garrison were either killed or taken prisoners. But, what was still a greater blow to Nicias, by the loss of this place he lost the convenience of his convoys. For, while he had Plemmyrium, the communication was safe and easy; but when that was taken, his supplies could not reach him without the utmost difficulty, because his transports could not pass without fighting the enemy's ships, which lay at anchor under the fort.

Besides, the Syracusans thought their fleet was beaten, not by any superior strength they had to combat, but by their going in a disorderly manner upon the pursuit. They therefore fitted out a most respectable fleet, in order for another action. Nicias, how-

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1 He had the address to impute the late defeat to himself, and to assure his men that their behaviour was irreproachable. He said, that by ranging them the day before between walls, where their cavalry and archers had not room to act, he had prevented their conquering.

ever, did not choose at present to try the issue of another naval fight, but declared it very absurd, when a large reinforcement of ships and fresh troops were hastening to him under the conduct of Demosthenes, to hazard a battle with a force so much inferior, and so ill provided.

On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who were appointed to a temporary share in the command, were led by their ambition and jealousy of Demosthenes and Nicias, to strike some extraordinary stroke, in order to be beforehand with the one, and to outdo the most shining actions of the other. Their pretence was the glory of Athens, which they said would be utterly lost, if they shewed any fear of the Syracusan fleet. Thus they overuled Nicias and gave battle. But they were soon defeated by a stratagem of Ariston the Corinthian, who was a most excellent seaman.[1] Their left wing, as Thucydides relates, was entirely routed, and they lost great numbers of their men. This loss threw Nicias into the greatest consternation. He reflected upon the checks he had met with while he had the sole command, and that he had now miscarried again through the obstinacy of his colleagues.

While he was indulging these reflections, Demosthenes appeared before the fort with a very gallant and formidable fleet. He had 73 galleys,[2] on board of which were 5000 heavy armed soldiers; and archers, spearmen, and slingers, 3000. Their armour glittered, the streamers waved, and the prows of the ships were adorned with a variety of rich paintings. He advanced with loud cheers and martial music, and the whole was conducted in a theatrical manner, to strike terror into the enemy.

The Syracusans were ready to fall into despair again. They saw no end or truce to their miseries; their labours and conflicts were all to begin anew, and they had been prodigal of their blood to no purpose. Nicias, however, had not long to rejoice at the arrival of such an army. At the first interview, Demosthenes wanted him to attack the enemy, that they might take Syracuse by an immediate and decisive stroke, and return again with glory to Athens. Nicias, astonished at his heat and precipitation, desired him to adopt no rash or desperate measures. He assured him, delay would make against the enemy, since they were already in want of money, and their allies would soon quit both them and their cause. Consequently when they began to feel the hard hand of necessity, they would apply to him again, and surrender upon terms, as they were going to do before. In fact, Nicias had a private understanding with several persons in Syracuse, who advised him to wait with patience, because the inhabitants were tired out with the war, and weary of Gylippus; and when their necessities should become a little more pressing, they would give up the dispute.

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1 Ariston advised the captains of the galleys to have refreshments ready for their men on the shore, while the Athenians imagined they went into the town for them. The Athenians, thus deceived, landed and went to dinner likewise. In the meantime the Syracusans, having made an expeditious meal, re-embarked, and attacked the Athenian ships when there was scarce anybody on board to defend them.

2 Diodorus Siculus makes them 110.

As Nicias mentioned these things in an enigmatical manner, and did not choose to speak out, it gave occasion to the other generals to accuse him of timidity. "He is coming upon us," said they, "with his old delays, dilatory, slow, over cautious counsels, by which the vigour and ardour of his troops were lost. When he should have led them on immediately, he waited till their spirit was gone, and the enemy began to look upon them with contempt." The other officers, therefore, listened to Demosthenes, and Nicias at last was forced to give up the point.

Upon this, Demosthenes put himself at the head of the land forces, and attacked Epipolæ in the night. As he came upon the guards by surprise, he killed many of them, and routed those who stood upon their defence. Not content with this advantage, he proceeded till he came to the quarter where the Bœotians were posted. Those closed their ranks, and first charged the Athenians, advancing with levelled pikes, and with all the alarm of voices; by which means they repulsed them, and killed a considerable number. Terror and confusion spread through the rest of the army. They who still kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by those that fled: and they who were marching down from Epipolæ to support the foremost bands, were put in disorder by the fugitives; for they fell foul of one another, and took their friends for enemies. The confusion, indeed, was inexpressible, occasioned by their fears, the uncertainty of their movements, and the impossibility of discerning objects as they could have wished, in a night which was neither quite dark nor sufficiently clear: the moon being near her setting, and the little light she gave rendered useless by the shade of so many bodies and weapons moving to and fro. Hence the apprehensions of meeting with an enemy made the Athenians suspect their friends, and threw them into the utmost perplexity and distress. They happened, too, to have the moon upon their backs, which casting their shadows before them, both hid the number of their men and the glittering of their arms; whereas the reflection from the shields of the enemy made them appear more numerous, and better armed than they really were. At last, they turned their backs, and were entirely routed. The enemy pressed hard upon them on all sides, and killed great numbers. Many others met their death in the weapons of their friends. Not a few fell headlong from the rocks or walls. The rest were dispersed about the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the cavalry, and put to the sword. The Athenians lost 2000 men in this action; and very few returned with their arms to the head quarters.

This was a severe blow to Nicias, though it was what he expected; and he inveighed against the rash proceedings of Demosthenes. That general defended himself as well as he could, but at the same time gave it as his opinion, that they should embark and return home as fast as possible. "We cannot hope," said he, "either for another army, or to conquer with the forces we have. Nay, supposing we had the advantage, we ought to relinquish a

situation, which is well known at all times to be unhealthy for the troops, and which now we find still more fatal from the season of the year." It was, indeed, the beginning of autumn: numbers were sick, and the whole army was dispirited.

Nevertheless, Nicias could not bear to hear of returning home; not that he was afraid of any opposition from the Syracusans, but he dreaded the Athenian tribunals and unfair impeachments there. He therefore replied, "That there was no great and visible danger at present; and if there were, he would rather die by the hands of the enemy than those of his fellow citizens." In this respect he greatly differed from Leo of Byzantium, who afterwards said to his countrymen, "I had rather die with you than for you." Nicias added, "That if it should appear necessary to encamp in another place, they might consider of it at their leisure."

Demosthenes urged the matter no farther, because his former counsels had proved unfortunate. And he was more willing to submit, because he saw others persuaded that it was the dependence Nicias had on his correspondence in the town, which made him so strongly oppose their return to Athens. But as fresh forces came to the assistance of the Syracusans, and the sickness prevailed more and more in the Athenian camp, Nicias himself altered his opinion, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark.

Everything accordingly was prepared for embarkation, and the enemy paid no attention to these movements, because they did not expect them. But in the night *there happened an eclipse of the moon, at which Nicias and all the rest were struck with a great panic*, either through ignorance or superstition. As for an eclipse of the sun, which happens at the conjunction, even the common people had some idea of its being caused by the interposition of the moon: but they could not easily form a conception, by the interposition of what body the moon, when at the full, should suddenly lose her light, and assume such a variety of colours. They looked upon it therefore as a strange and preternatural phenomenon, a sign by which the gods announced some great calamity.

Anaxagoras was the first who with any clearness and certainty shewed in what manner the moon was illuminated and overshadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity,[1] nor was his treatise much known, it was confined to a few hands, and communicated with caution and under the seal of secrecy. For the people had an aversion to natural philosophers and those who were then called *Meteorologicæ (inquirers into the nature of meteors)*, supposing that they injured the divine power and providence by ascribing things to insensate causes, unintelligent powers, and inevitable necessity. Protagoras was forced to fly on account of such a system; and Anaxagoras was thrown into prison, from whence Pericles with great difficulty got him delivered. Even Socrates,[2]

[1] He was contemporary with Pericles, and with Nicias too; for he died the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, and Nicias was killed the fourth year of the ninety-first.

[2] Socrates tells us in his apology, that

who meddled not with physics, lost his life for philosophy. *At last the glory of Plato enlightened the world, and his doctrine was generally received, both on account of his life, and his subjecting the necessity of natural causes to a more powerful and divine principle.* Thus he removed all suspicion of impiety from such researches, and brought the study of mathematics into fashion. Hence it was that his friend Dion, though the moon was eclipsed at the time of his going from Zacynthus against Dionysius, was not in the least disconcerted, but pursued his voyage, and expelled the tyrant.

It was a great unhappiness to Nicias that he had not with him then an able diviner. Stilbides, whom he employed on such occasions, and who used to lessen the influence of his superstition, died a little before. Supposing the eclipse a prodigy, it could not, as Philochorus observes, be inauspicious to those who wanted to fly, but on the contrary, very favourable; for whatever is transacted with fear seeks the shades of darkness—light is the worst enemy. Besides, on other occasions, as Autiolides[1] remarks in his Commentaries, there were only three days that people refrained from business after an eclipse of either sun or moon; whereas Nicias wanted to stay another entire revolution of the moon, as if he could not see her as bright as ever the moment she passed the shadow caused by the interposition of the earth.

He quitted, however, almost every other care, and sat still observing his sacrifices till the enemy came upon him, and invested his walls and intrenchments with their land-forces, as well as circled the harbour with their fleet. Not only the men from the ships, but the very boys from fishing-boats and small barks challenged the Athenians to come out, and offered them every kind of insult. One of these boys, named Heraclides, who was of one of the best families in Syracuse, advancing too far, was pursued by an Athenian vessel, and very near being taken. His uncle Pollichus, seeing his danger, made up with ten galleys which were under his command, and others, in fear for Pollichus, advanced to support him. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and Eurymedon and numbers more were killed.

The Athenians, not brooking any further delay, with great indignation called upon their generals to lead them off by land. For the Syracusans, immediately after the victory, blocked up the harbour. Nicias, however, would not agree to it, thinking it a cruel thing to abandon so many ships of burden and near 200 galleys. He therefore embarked his best infantry, and a select number of archers and spearmen, and manned with them 110 galleys, as far as his rowers would supply them. The rest of his troops he drew up on the shore, abandoning his great camp and his walls which reached to the temple of Hercules. The Syracusans had not for a long time offered

he had been accused of a criminal curiosity in prying into the heavens and into the abysses of the earth. However, he could not be said to lose his life for his philosophy so much as for his theology.

[1] This should probably be read Anticlides: for he seems to be the same person whom Plutarch has mentioned in the life of Alexander, and in his Isis and Osiris.

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1 This should probably be read Antilides; for he seems to be the same person whom Plutarch has mentioned in the life of Alexander, and in his Isis and Osiris.

the usual sacrifices to that deity, but now both the priests and generals went to observe the solemnity.

Their troops were embarked; and the inspectors of the entrails promised the Syracusans a glorious victory, provided they did not begin the attack, but only repelled force with force. For Hercules, they said, was victorious only in standing upon the defensive, and waiting to be attacked. Thus instructed, the Syracusans set out.

Then the great sea-fight began; remarkable not only for the vigour that was exerted, but for its causing as great a variety of passion and agitation in the spectators as in the combatants themselves. For those who looked on from the shore could discern every different and unexpected turn it took. The Athenians suffered not more harm from the enemy than they did from their own order of battle and the nature of their armament. Their ships were all crowded together, and were heavy and unwieldy besides, while those of the enemy were so light and nimble, that they could easily change their situation, and attack the Athenians on all sides. Add to this, that the Syracusans were provided with a vast quantity of stones which seldom failed of their effect wherever discharged; and the Athenians had nothing to oppose to them but darts and arrows, the flight of which was so diverted by the motion of the ship, that few of them could reach their mark. The enemy was put upon this expedient by Ariston the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell the moment that victory was declaring for the Syracusans.

After this dreadful defeat and loss, there was no possibility of escaping by sea. At the same time the Athenians saw it was extremely difficult to save themselves by land. In this despair they neither opposed the enemy who were seizing their vessels close to the shore, nor demanded their dead. They thought it not so deplorable a circumstance to leave the dead without burial, as to abandon the sick and wounded. And though they had great miseries before their eyes, they looked upon their own case as still more unhappy, since they had many calamities to undergo, and were to meet the same fate at last.

They did, however, design to begin their march in the night. Gylippus saw the Syracusans employed in sacrifices to the gods, and in entertaining their friends on account of the victory, and the feast of Hercules, and he knew that neither entreaty nor force would prevail with them to leave the joys of festivity and oppose the enemy's flight. But Hermocrates[1] found out a method to impose upon Nicias. He sent persons in whom he could confide, who were to pretend that they came from the old correspondents of that general within the town; and that their business was to desire him not to march in the night, because the Syracusans had laid several ambushes for him, and seized all the passes. The stratagem had its

[1] Hermocrates was sensible of what importance it was to prevent Nicias from retiring by land. With an army of 40,000 men which he had still left, he might have fortified himself in some part of Sicily, and renewed the war.

effect. Nicias sat still in the simplicity of his heart, fearing he should really fall into the enemy's snares. In the morning the enemy got out before him. Then indeed they did seize all the difficult passes; they threw up works against the fords; broke down the bridges; and planted their cavalry wherever the ground was open and even, so that the Athenians could not move one step without fighting them.

These poor men lay close all that day and the night following, and then began their march with tears and loud lamentations, as if they had been going to quit their native country, not that of the enemy. They were, indeed, in great want of provisions, and it was a miserable circumstance to leave their sick and wounded friends and comrades behind them; yet they looked upon their present misfortunes as small in comparison of those they had to expect.

But among the various spectacles of misery, there was not one more pitiable than Nicias himself: oppressed as he was with sickness, and unworthily reduced to hard diet and a scanty provision, when his infirmities required a liberal supply. Yet in spite of his ill health, he acted and endured many things which the most robust underwent not without difficulty. All this while his troops could not but observe, it was not for his own sake, or any attachment to life, he submitted to such labours, but that he seemed still to cherish hope on their account. When sorrow and fear brought others to tears and complaints, if Nicias ever dropped a tear among the rest, it was plain he did it from a reflection on the miserable and disgraceful issue of the war, which he hoped to have finished with great honour and success. Nor was it only the sight of his present misery that moved them, but when they recollected the speeches and warnings by which he endeavoured to dissuade the people from the expedition, they could not but think his lot much more unhappy than he deserved. All their hopes, too, of assistance from Heaven abandoned them, when they observed that so religious a man as Nicias, one who had thought no expense too great in the service of the gods, had no better fortune than the meanest and most profligate person in the army.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he still endeavoured by the tone of his voice, by his looks, and every expression of kindness to the soldiers, to shew himself superior to his misfortunes. Nay, through a march of eight days, though attacked and harassed all the way by the enemy, he preserved his division of the army tolerably entire, *till Demosthenes was taken prisoner*, and the troops he had the conduct of were surrounded, after a brave resistance, at a place called Polyzelium. Demosthenes then drew his sword and stabbed himself, but as the enemy came immediately upon him, and seized him, he had not time to give himself the finishing stroke.

Some Syracusans rode up to Nicias with this news, and he sent a few of his own cavalry to know the certainty. Finding from their account, that Demosthenes and his party were really prisoners, he begged to treat with Gylippus, and offered hostages for paying the Syracusans the whole charge of the war, on condition they would

suffer the Athenians to quit Sicily. The Syracusans rejected the proposals with every mark of insolence and outrage, and fell again upon a wretched man who was in want of all manner of necessaries.[1]

He defended himself, however, all that night, and continued his march the next day to the river Asinarus. The enemy galled his troops all the way, and when they came to the banks of the river, pushed them in. Nay, some impatient to quench their burning thirst, voluntarily plunged into the stream. Then followed a most cruel scene of blood and slaughter; the poor wretches being massacred as they were drinking. At last, Nicias threw himself at the feet of Gylippus and said: "Gylippus, you should shew some compassion amidst your victory. I ask nothing for myself. What is life to a man whose misfortunes are even proverbial? But with respect to the other Athenians, methinks you should remember that the chance of war is uncertain, and with what humanity and moderation they treated you when they were victorious."

Gylippus was somewhat affected both at the sight of Nicias and at his speech. He knew the good offices he had done the Lacedæmonians at the last treaty of peace, and he was sensible it would contribute greatly to his honour if he could take two of the enemy's generals prisoners. Therefore, raising Nicias from the ground, he bade him take courage; and gave orders that the other Athenians should have quarter. But as the order was slowly communicated, the number of those that were saved was greatly inferior to that of the slain, though the soldiers spared several unknown to their officers.

When the Syracusans had collected all the prisoners they could find into one body, they dressed some of the tallest and straightest trees that grew by the river, as trophies, with the arms they had taken from the enemy. After which they marched homeward, with garlands on their heads, and with their horses adorned in the most splendid manner, having first shorn those of the Athenians. Thus they entered the city as it were in triumph, after the happy termination of the sharpest dispute that ever subsisted between Grecians, and one of the most complete victories the sun ever beheld, gained by a glorious and persevering exertion of firmness and valour.

A general assembly of the people of Syracuse and of its allies was then held, in which Eurycles[2] the orator, proposed a decree, "That in the first place, the day they took Nicias should be observed as a festival, with the title of *Asinaria*, from the river where that great event took place, and that it should be entirely employed in sacrifices to the gods." This was the twenty-seventh day of the month *Carneus*, called by the Athenians *Metagitnion*.[3] "As to the prisoners, he proposed, that the Athenian servants and all the allies should be sold for slaves; that such of the Athenians

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[1] But were these brave people to blame? Was it not natural for them to use every means in their power to harass and weaken an enemy, who had ambitiously considered their country as a property.

[2] Diodorus Siculus calls him Diocles.

[3] Though it is not easy to bring the Grecian months to accord with ours, yet we agree in this place with Dacier, that September is probably meant, or part of it; because Plutarch had said above, that the sickness had set in with autumn.

as were freemen, and the Sicilians their partisans, should be confided to the quarries; and that the generals should be put to death." As the Syracusans accepted the bill, Hermocrates rose up and said, "It was a more glorious thing to make a good use of a victory than to gain one." But his motion raised a great ferment in the assembly. Gylippus expressing his desire to have the Athenian generals, that he might carry them prisoners to Lacedæmon, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, loaded him with reproaches. Indeed, they could not well bear his severity and Lacedæmonian rigour in command, while the war lasted. Besides, as Timæus observes, they had discovered in him an avarice and meanness, which was a disease he inherited from his father, Cleandrides, who was banished for taking of bribes. The son, out of the 1000 talents which Lysander sent by him to Sparta, purloined 30, and hid them under the tiles of his house. Being detected in it, he fled his country with the utmost disgrace.

Timæus does not agree with Philistus and Thucydides, that Demosthenes and Nicias were stoned to death by the Syracusans. Instead of that, he tells us that Hermocrates sent one of his people to acquaint those two generals with what was passing in the assembly, and the messengers being admitted by the guards before the court was dismissed, the unhappy men despatched themselves. Their bodies were thrown without the gates, and lay there exposed to the view of all those who wanted to enjoy the spectacle. I am informed that a shield, said to be that of Nicias, is shewn to this day in one of the temples at Syracuse, the exterior texture of which is gold and purple, and executed with surprising art.

As to the other Athenians, the greatest part perished in the quarries to which they were confined, by diseases and bad diet; for they were allowed only a pint of barley a day, and half a pint of water. Many of those who were concealed by the soldiers, or escaped by passing as servants, were sold for slaves, and stigmatized with the figure of a horse upon their foreheads. Several of these, however, submitted to their fate with patience: and the modesty and decency with which they behaved were such, that they were either soon released, or treated in their servitude with great respect by their masters.

Some there were who owed their preservation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muse whom the Sicilians were most in love with. From every stranger that landed in their island they gleaned every small specimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleasure to each other. It is said that on this occasion a number of Athenians, upon their return home, went to Euripides, and thanked him in the most respectful manner for their obligations to his pen; some having been enfranchised for teaching their masters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreshments when they were wandering about after the battle, for singing a few of his verses. Nor is this to be wondered at, since they tell us, that when a ship from Caunus, which happened to be pursued by pirates, was going to take shelter in one of their ports,

the Sicilians at first refused to admit her; upon asking the crew whether they knew any of the verses of Euripides, and being answered in the affirmative, they received both them and their vessel.

The Athenians, we are told, did not give credit to the first news of this misfortune; the person who brought it not appearing to deserve their notice. It seems, a stranger who landed in the Piræus, as he sat to be shaved in a barber's shop, spoke of it as an event already known to the Athenians. The barber no sooner heard it, but, before the stranger could communicate it to any other person, he ran into the city, and applying to the magistrates, informed them of the news in open court. Trouble and dismay seized all that heard it. The magistrates immediately summoned an assembly, and introduced the informant. There he was interrogated, of whom he had the intelligence, and as he could give no clear and pertinent answer, he was considered as a forger of false news and a public incendiary.[1] In this light he was fastened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for some time, till at length some credible persons arrived, who gave a distinct account of the whole disaster. With so much difficulty did the misfortunes of Nicias find credit among the Athenians, though he had often forewarned them that they would certainly happen.

LYSANDER.

AMONG the sacred deposits of the Acanthians at Delphi, one has this inscription, BRASIDAS AND THE ACANTHII TOOK THIS FROM THE ATHENIANS.[2] Hence many are of opinion, that the marble statue, which stands in the chapel of that nation, just by the door, is the statue of Brasidas. But in fact it is Lysander's, whom it perfectly represents with his hair at full growth,[3] and a length of beard, both after the ancient fashion. It is not true, indeed, (as some would have it) that while the Argives cut their hair in sorrow for the loss of a great battle,[4] the Lacedæmonians began to let theirs grow in the joy of success. Nor did they first give in to this custom, when the Bacchiadæ[5] fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, and made a disagreeable appearance with their shorn locks. But it is derived from

1 Casaubon would infer from hence, that the Athenians had a law for punishing the forgers of false news. But this person was punished, not so much as a forger of false news as a public incendiary, who, by exciting groundless terrors to the people, sided and abetted their enemies.

2 Brasidas, when general of the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people of Acanthus to quit the Athenian interest, and to receive the Spartans into their city. In consequence of which he joined with them in consecrating certain Athenian spoils to Apollo. The statue, therefore, probably was his, though Plutarch thinks otherwise.—THUCYD. lib. iv.

3 Why might not Brasidas, who was a Lacedæmonian, and a contemporary of Lysander, be represented with long hair as well as he?

4 This was the opinion of Herodotus, but perfectly groundless.

5 The Bacchiadæ had kept up an oligarchy in Corinth for two hundred years, but were at last expelled by Cypselus, who made himself absolute master there. HERODOT. l. v

the institution of Lycurgus, who is reported to have said, that *long hair makes the handsome more beautiful, and the ugly more terrible.*

Aristoclitus,[1] the father of Lysander, is said not to have been of the royal line, but to be descended from the Heraclidæ by another family. As for Lysander, he was bred up in poverty. No one conformed more freely to the Spartan discipline than he. He had a firm heart, above yielding to the charms of any pleasure except that which results from the honour and success gained by great actions. And it was no fault at Sparta for young men to be led by this sort of pleasure. There they chose to instil into their children an early passion for glory, and teach them to be much affected by disgrace, as well as elated by praise. And he that is not moved at these things is despised as a person of a mean soul, unambitious of the improvements of virtue.

That love of fame, then, and jealousy of honour, which ever influenced Lysander, were imbibed in his education; and consequently nature is not to be blamed for them. But the attention which he paid the great, in a manner that did not become a Spartan, and that easiness with which he bore the pride of power, whenever his own interest was concerned, may be ascribed to his disposition. This complaisance, however, is considered by some as no small part of politics.

Aristotle somewhere observes (*Problem Sect.* 30), that great geniuses are generally of a melancholy turn, of which he gives instances in Socrates, Plato, and Hercules; and he tells us that Lysander, though not in his youth, yet in his age was inclined to it. But what is most peculiar in his character is, that though he bore poverty well himself, and was never either conquered or corrupted by money, yet he filled Sparta with it, and with the love of it too, and robbed her of the glory she had of despising riches. For, after the Athenian war, he brought in a great quantity of gold and silver, but reserved no part of it for himself. And when Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughters some rich Sicilian garments, he refused them, alleging, "He was afraid those fine clothes would make them look more homely." Being sent, however, soon after, ambassador to Dionysius, the tyrant offered him two vests, that he might take one of them for his daughter; upon which he said, "His daughter knew better how to choose than he," and so took them both.

As the Peloponnesian war was drawn out to a great length, the Athenians, after their overthrow in Sicily, saw their fleets driven out of the sea, and themselves upon the verge of ruin. But Alcibiades, on his return from banishment, applied himself to remedy this evil, and soon made such a change, that the Athenians were once more equal in naval conflicts to the Lacedæmonians. Hereupon the Lacedæmonians began to be afraid in their turn, and resolved to prosecute the war with double diligence; and as they saw it required an able general, as well as great preparations, they gave the command at sea to Lysander.[2]

[1] Pausanias calls him Aristocritus. [2] In the first year of the 93th Olympiad, 406 B.C.

When he came to Ephesus, he found that city well inclined to the Lacedæmonians, but in a bad condition as to its internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Persians; because it was near Lydia, and the king's lieutenants often visited it. Lysander, therefore, having fixed his quarters there, ordered all his store-ships to be brought into their harbour, and built a dock for his galleys. By these means he filled their port with merchants, their market with business, and their houses and shops with money. So that, from time and from his services, Ephesus began to conceive hopes of that greatness and splendour in which it now flourishes.

As soon as he heard that Cyrus, the king's son, was arrived at Sardis, he went thither to confer with him, and to acquaint him with the treachery of Tisaphernes. That viceroy had an order to assist the Lacedæmonians, and to destroy the naval force of the Athenians; but, by reason of his partiality to Alcibiades, he acted with no vigour, and sent such poor supplies, that the fleet was almost ruined. Cyrus was very glad to find this charge against Tisaphernes, knowing him to be a man of bad character in general, and an enemy to him in particular. By this and the rest of his conversation, but most of all by the respect and attention which he paid him, Lysander recommended himself to the young prince, and engaged him to prosecute the war. When the Lacedæmonian was going to take his leave, Cyrus desired him, at an entertainment provided on that occasion, not to refuse the marks of his regard, but to ask some favour of him. "As you are so very kind to me," said Lysander, "*I beg you would add an obolus to the seamen's pay, so that instead of three oboli a day, they may have four.*" Cyrus, charmed with this generous answer, made him a present of 10,000 pieces of gold (*Darici*). Lysander employed the money to increase the wages of his men, and by this encouragement in a short time almost emptied the enemy's ships. For great numbers came over to him, when they knew they should have better pay; and those who remained became indolent and mutinous, and gave their officers continual trouble. But though Lysander had thus drained and weakened his adversaries, he was afraid to risk a naval engagement, knowing Alcibiades not only to be a commander of extraordinary abilities, but to have the advantage in number of ships, as well as to have been successful in all the battles he had fought, whether by sea or land.

However, when Alcibiades was gone from Samos to Phocæa, and had left the command of the fleet to his pilot, Antiochus the pilot, to insult Lysander, and shew his own bravery, sailed to the harbour of Ephesus with two galleys only, where he hailed the Lacedæmonian fleet with a great deal of noise and laughter, and passed by in the most insolent manner imaginable. Lysander, resenting the affront, got a few of his ships under sail, and gave chase. But when he saw the Athenians come to support Antiochus, he called up more of his galleys, and at last the action became general. Lysander gained the victory, took 15 ships, and erected a trophy. Hereupon the people of Athens, incensed at Alcibiades, took the command from him; and, as he found himself slighted and censured by the

army of Samos too, he quitted it, and withdrew to Chersonesus. This battle, though not considerable in itself, was made so by the misfortunes of Alcibiades.

Lysander now invited to Ephesus the boldest and most enterprising inhabitants of the Greek cities in Asia, and sowed among them the seeds of those aristocratical forms of government which afterwards took place. He encouraged them to enter into associations, and to turn their thoughts to politics, upon promise that when Athens was once subdued, the popular government in their cities too should be dissolved, and the administration vested in them. His actions gave them a confidence in his promise. For those who were already attached to him by friendship or the rights of hospitality, he advanced to the highest honours and employments; not scrupling to join with them in any act of fraud or oppression, to satisfy their avarice and ambition; so that everyone endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Lysander; to him they paid their court; they fixed their hearts upon him; persuaded that nothing was too great for them to expect, while he had the management of affairs. Hence it was, that from the first they looked with an ill eye on Callicratidas, who succeeded him in the command of the fleet; and though they afterwards found him the best and most upright of men, they were not satisfied with his conduct, which they thought had too much of the *Doric*[1] *plainness and sincerity*. It is true they admired the virtue of Callicratidas, as they would the beauty of some hero's statue; but they wanted the countenance, the indulgence, and support they had experienced in Lysander, insomuch that when he left them, they were quite dejected, and melted into tears.

Indeed, he took every method he could think of to strengthen their aversion to Callicratidas. He even sent back to Sardis the remainder of the money which Cyrus had given him for the supply of the fleet, and bade his successor go and ask for it, as he had done, or contrive some other means for the maintenance of his forces. And when he was upon the point of sailing, he made this declaration, "I deliver to you a fleet that is mistress of the seas." Callicratidas, willing to shew the insolence and vanity of his boast, said, "Why do not you then take Samos on the left, and sail round to Miletus, and deliver the fleet to me there? for we need not be afraid of passing by our enemies in that island if we are masters of the seas." Lysander made only this superficial answer, "You have the command of the ships, and not I;" and immediately set sail for Peloponnesus.

Callicratidas was left in great difficulties; for he had not brought money from home with him, nor did he choose to raise contributions from the cities, which were already distressed. The only way left, therefore was to go, as Lysander had done, and beg it of the king's lieutenants: and no one was more unfit for such an office, than a man of his free and great spirit, who thought any loss that Grecians

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[1] Dacier refers this to the Dorian music. But the Doric manners had a simplicity and plainness in them, as well as the music.

might sustain from Grecians, preferable to an abject attendance at the doors of barbarians, who had indeed a great deal of gold, but nothing else to boast of. Necessity, however, forced him into Lydia, where he went directly to the palace of Cyrus, and bade the porters tell him that Callicratidas, the Spartan admiral, desired to speak to him. "Stranger," said one of the fellows, "Cyrus is not at leisure; he is drinking." "'Tis very well," said Callicratidas, with great simplicity, "I will wait here till he has done." But when he found that these people considered him as a rustic, and only laughed at him, he went away. He came a second time, and could not gain admittance: and now he could bear it no longer, but returned to Ephesus, venting execrations against those who first cringed to the barbarians, and taught them to be insolent on account of their wealth: at the same time he protested, that as soon as he was got back to Sparta, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Grecians among themselves, and to make them formidable to the barbarians, instead of their poorly petitioning those people for assistance against each other. But this Callicratidas, who had sentiments so worthy of a Spartan, and who, in point of justice, magnanimity, and valour, was equal to the best of the Greeks, fell soon after in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, where he lost the day.

Affairs being now in a declining condition, the confederates sent an embassy to Sparta, to desire that the command of the navy might be restored to Lysander, promising to support the cause with much greater vigour if he had the direction of it. Cyrus, too, made the same requisition. But as *the law forbade the same person to be chosen admiral twice*, and yet the Lacedæmonians were willing to oblige their allies, they vested a nominal command in one Aracus, while Lysander, who was called lieutenant, had the power. His arrival was very agreeable to those who had, or wanted to have, the chief authority in the Asiatic cities; for he had long given them hopes, that the democracy would be abolished, and the government devolve entirely upon them.

As for those who loved an open and generous proceeding, when they compared Lysander and Callicratidas, the former appeared only a man of craft and subtlety, who directed his operations by a set of artful expedients, and measured the value of justice by the advantage it brought; who, in short, thought interest the thing of superior excellence, and that nature had made no difference between truth and falsehood, but either was recommended by its use. When he was told it did not become the descendants of Hercules to adopt such artful expedients, he turned it off with a jest, and said, "Where the lion's skin falls short, it must be eked out with the fox's."

There was a remarkable instance of this subtlety in his behaviour at Miletus. His friends and others with whom he had connexions there, who had promised to abolish the popular government, and to drive out all that favoured it, had changed their minds, and reconciled themselves to their adversaries. In public he pretended to rejoice at the event, and to cement the union; but in private he

loaded them with reproaches, and excited them to attack the commons. However, when he knew the tumult was begun, he entered the city in haste, and running up to the leaders of the sedition, gave them a severe reprimand, and threatened to punish them in an exemplary manner. At the same time, he desired the people to be perfectly easy, and to fear no farther disturbance while he was there. In all which he acted only like an artful dissembler, to hinder the heads of the plebeian party from quiting the city, and to make sure of their being put to the sword there. Accordingly there was not a man that trusted to his honour, who did not lose his life.

There is a saying, too, of Lysander's, recorded by Androclides, which shews the little regard he had for oaths: "Children," he said, "were to be cheated with cockalls, and men with oaths." In this he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; though it ill became a general of an army to imitate a tyrant, and was unworthy of a Lacedæmonian to hold the gods in a more contemptible light than even his enemies. For *he who overreaches by a false oath, declares that he fears his enemy, but despises his God.*

Cyrus, having sent for Lysander to Sardis, presented him with great sums, and promised more. Nay, to shew how high he was in his favour, he went so far as to assure him, that, if his father would give him nothing, he would supply him out of his own fortune; and if every thing else failed, he would melt down the very throne on which he sat when he administered justice, and which was all of massy gold and silver. And when he went to attend his father in Media, he assigned him the tribute of the towns, and put the care of his whole province in his hands. At parting he embraced, and entreated him not to engage the Athenians at sea before his return, because he intended to bring with him a great fleet out of Phœnicia and Cilicia.

After the departure of the prince, Lysander did not choose to fight the enemy, who were not inferior to him in force, nor yet to lie idle with such a number of ships, and therefore he cruised about and reduced some islands. Ægina and Salamis he pillaged; and from thence sailed to Attica, where he waited on Agis, who was come down from Decelea to the coast, to shew his land forces what a powerful navy there was, which gave them the command of the seas in a manner they could not have expected. Lysander, however, seeing the Athenians in chase of him, steered another way back through the islands to Asia. As he found the Hellespont unguarded, he attacked Lampsacus by sea, while Thorax made an assault upon it by land; in consequence of which the city was taken, and the plunder given to the troops. In the mean time the Athenian fleet, which consisted of 120 ships, had advanced to Eleus, a city in the Chersonesus. There getting intelligence that Lampsacus was lost, they sailed immediately to Sestos; where they took in provisions, and then proceeded to Ægos Potamos. They were now just opposite the enemy, who still lay at anchor near Lampsacus. The Athenians were under the command of several officers, among whom Philocles was one, the same who persuaded the people

to make a decree that the prisoners of war should have their right thumbs cut off, that they might be disabled from handling a pike, but still be serviceable at the oar.

For the present they all went to rest, in hopes of coming to an action next day. But Lysander had another design. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board, as if he intended to fight at break of day. These were to wait in silence for orders, the land forces were to form on the shore and watch the signal. At sunrise the Athenians drew up in a line directly before the Lacedæmonians, and gave the challenge. Lysander, though he had manned his ships over night, and stood facing the enemy, did not accept of it. On the contrary, he sent orders by his pinnaces to those ships that were in the van, not to stir, but to keep the line without making the least motion. In the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not suffer one man to land, till two or three galleys, which he had sent to look out, returned with an account that the enemy were disembarked. Next morning they ranged themselves in the same manner, and the like was practised a day or two longer. This made the Athenians very confident; they considered their adversaries as a dastardly set of men, who durst not quit their station.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, who lived in a castle of his own in the Chersonesus, rode to the Athenian camp, and represented to the generals two material errors they had committed. The first was, that they had stationed their ships near a dangerous and naked shore; the other, that they were so far from Sestos, from whence they were forced to fetch all their provisions. He told them it was their business to sail to the port of Sestos without loss of time, where they would be at a greater distance from the enemy, who were watching their opportunity with an army commanded by one man, and so well disciplined, that they would execute his orders upon the least signal. These were the lessons he gave them, but they did not regard him. Nay, Tydeus said, with an air of contempt, "You are not general now, but we." Alcibiades even suspected some treachery, and therefore withdrew.

On the fifth day, when the Athenians had offered battle, they returned, as usual, in a careless and disdainful manner. Upon this, Lysander detached some galleys to observe them; and ordered the officers, as soon as they saw the Athenians landed, to sail back as fast as possible; and when they were come half way, to lift up a brazen shield at the head of each ship, as a signal for him to advance. He then sailed through all the line, and gave instructions to the captain and pilots to have all their men in good order, as well mariners as soldiers; and, when the signal was given, to push forward with the utmost vigour against the enemy. As soon, therefore, as the signal appeared, the trumpet sounded in the admiral's galley, the ships began to move on, and the land forces hastened along the shore to seize the promontory. The space between the two continents in that place is 15 furlongs, which was soon overshot by the diligence and spirits of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first that descried them from land,

and hastened to get his men on board. Sensible of the impending danger, some he commanded, some he entreated, and others he forced into the ships. But all his endeavours were in vain. His men, not in the least expecting a surprise, were dispersed up and down, some in the market-place, some in the field; some were asleep in their tents, and some preparing their dinner. All this was owing to the inexperience of their commanders, which had made them quite regardless of what might happen. The shouts and the noise of the enemy rushing on to the attack were now heard, when Conon fled with eight ships, and escaped to Evagoras, king of Cyprus. The Peloponnesians fell upon the rest, took those that were empty, and disabled the others, as the Athenians were embarking. Their soldiers coming unarmed and in a struggling manner to defend the ships, perished in the attempt, and those that fled were slain by that part of the enemy which had landed. Lysander took 3000 prisoners and seized the whole fleet, except the sacred galley called Peralus, and those that escaped with Conon. When he had fastened the captive galleys to his own, and plundered the camp, he returned to Lampascus, accompanied with the flutes and songs of triumph. This great action cost him but little blood; in one hour he put an end to a long and tedious war,[1] which had been diversified beyond all others by an incredible variety of events. This cruel war which had occasioned so many battles, appeared in such different forms, produced such vicissitudes of fortune, and destroyed more generals than all the wars of Greece put together, was terminated by the conduct and capacity of one man. Some therefore esteemed it the effect of a divine interposition. There were those who said, that the stars of Castor and Pollux appeared on each side the helm of Lysander's ship when he first set out against the Athenians. Others thought that *a stone which, according to the common opinion, fell from heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. It fell at Ægos Potamos, and was of a prodigious size.* The people of the Chersonesus hold it in great veneration, and show it to this day.[2] It is said that Anaxagoras had foretold that one of those bodies which are fixed to the vault of heaven, would one day be loosened by some shock or convulsion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth. For he taught that the stars are not now in the places where they were originally formed; that being of a stony substance and heavy, the light they give is caused only by the reflection and refraction of the ether; and that they are carried along and kept in their orbits by the rapid motion of the heavens, which from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were separated from the rest, hindered them from falling.

But there is another and more probable opinion, which holds that falling stars are not emanations or detached parts of the elementary fire that go out the moment they are kindled; nor yet a quantity of

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1 It had lasted twenty-seven years.

2 This victory was gained the fourth year of the ninety-third Olympiad, 405 B.C. And it is pretended that Anaxagoras had delivered his prediction 67 years before the battle. PLIN. ii. 58.

air bursting out from some compression, and taking fire in the upper region; but that they are really heavenly bodies which, from some relaxation of the rapidity of their motion, or by some irregular concussion are loosened, and fall, not so much upon the habitable part of the globe as into the ocean, which is the reason that their substance is seldom seen.

Damachus,[1] however, in his treatise concerning religion, confirms the opinion of Anaxagoras. He relates, that for 75 days together, before that stone fell, there was seen in the heavens a large body of fire like an inflamed cloud, not fixed to one place, but carried this way and that with a broken and irregular motion; and that by its violent agitation, several fiery fragments were forced from it, which were impelled in various directions, and darted with the celerity and brightness of so many falling stars. After this body was fallen in the Chersonesus, and the inhabitants recovered from their terror, assembled to see it, they could find no inflammable matter or the least sign of fire, but a real stone, which, though large, was nothing to the size of that fiery globe they had seen in the sky, but appeared only as a bit crumbled from it. It is plain that Damachus must have very indulgent readers if this account of his gains credit. If it is a true one, it absolutely refutes those who say that this stone was nothing but a rock rent by a tempest from the top of a mountain, which, after being borne for some time in the air by a whirlwind, settled in the first place where the violence of that abated. Perhaps at last, this phenomenon which continued so many days, was a real globe of fire; and when that globe came to disperse and draw towards extinction, it might cause such a change in the air, and produce such a violent whirlwind, as tore the stone from its native bed and dashed it on the plain. But these are discussions that belong to writings of another nature.

When the 3000 Athenian prisoners were condemned by the council to die, Lysander called Philocles, one of the generals, and asked him what punishment he thought he deserved, who had given his citizens such cruel advice with respect to the Greeks. Philocles, undismayed by his misfortunes, made answer, "Do not start a question where there is no judge to decide it; but now you are a conqueror, proceed as you would have been proceeded with had you been conquered." After this he bathed and dressed himself in a rich robe, and then led his countrymen to execution, being the first, according to Theophrastus who offered his neck to the axe.

Lysander next visited the maritime towns, and ordered all the Athenians he found, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens. His design was, that the crowds he drove into the city might soon occasion a famine, and so prevent the trouble of a long siege, which must have been the case if provisions had been plentiful. Wherever he came, he abolished the democratic and other forms of govern-

[1] Not Damachus, but Diamachus of Platea, a very fabulous writer, and ignorant of the mathematics: in which, as well as history, he pretended to great knowledge. STRAB. lib. i.

ment, and set up a Lacedæmonian governor, called *Harmostes*, assisted by ten archons, who were to be drawn from the societies he established. These changes he made as he sailed about at his leisure, not only in the enemy's cities, but in those of his allies, and by this means in a manner engrossed to himself the principality of all Greece. For in appointing governors he had no regard to family or opulence, but chose them from among his own friends, or out of the brotherhoods he had erected, and invested them with full power of life and death. He even assisted in person at executions, and drove out all that opposed his friends and favourites. Thus he gave the Greeks a very indifferent specimen of the Lacedæmonian government. Therefore, Theopompus,[1] the comic writer, was under a great mistake when he compared the Lacedæmonians to vintners, who at first gave Greece a delightful draught of liberty, but afterwards dashed the wine with vinegar. The draught from the beginning was disagreeable and bitter, for Lysander not only took the administration out of the hands of the people, but composed his oligarchies of the boldest and most factious of the citizens.

When he had despatched this business, which did not take up any long time, he sent messengers to Lacedæmon, with an account that he was returning with 200 ships. He went, however, to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Pausanias, in expectation of the immediate surrender of Athens. But finding that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he crossed over again to Asia. There he made the same alteration in the government of cities, and set up his decemvirate, after having sacrificed in each city a number of people, and forced others to quit their country. As for the Samians,[2] he expelled them all, and delivered their towns to the persons whom they had banished. And when he had taken Sestos out of the hands of the Athenians, he drove out the Sestians too, and divided both the city and territory among his pilots and boatswains. This was the first step of his which the Lacedæmonians disapproved: they annulled what he had done, and restored the Sestians to their country. But in other respects the Grecians were well satisfied with Lysander's conduct. They saw with pleasure the Æginetæ recovering their city, of which they had long been dispossessed, and the Melians and Scionæans re-established by him, while the Athenians were driven out, and gave up their claims.

By this time he was informed that Athens was greatly distressed with famine, upon which he sailed to the Piræus, and obliged the city to surrender at discretion. The Lacedæmonians say, that Lysander wrote an account of it to the *ephori* in these words:—"Athens is taken;" to which they returned this answer, "If it is taken that is sufficient." But this was only an invention to make the matter look more plausible. The real decree of the *ephori* ran

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1 Muretus shews, from a passage in Theodorus Metochites, that we should read here *Theopompus the Historian*, instead of *Theopompus the comic writer*.

2 These things did not happen in the order they are here related. Samos was not taken till a considerable time after the long walls of Athens were demolished. Xenoph. Hellen. ii.

thus—"The Lacedæmonians have come to these resolutions: You shall pull down the Piræus and the long walls; quit all the cities you are possessed of; and keep within the bounds of Attica. On these conditions you shall have peace, provided you pay what is reasonable and restore the exiles.[1] As for the number of ships you are to keep, you must comply with the orders we shall give you."

The Athenians submitted to this decree upon the advice of Theramenes, the son of Ancon or Agnon. On this occasion, we are told, Cleomenes, one of the young orators, thus addressed him: "Dare you go contrary to the sentiments of Themistocles, by delivering up those walls to the Lacedæmonians, which he built in defiance of them?" Theramenes answered, "Young man, I do not in the least counteract the intention of Themistocles, for he built the walls for the preservation of the citizens, and we for the same purpose demolish them. If walls only could make a city happy and secure, Sparta, which has none, would be the unhappiest in the world."

After Lysander had taken from the Athenians all their ships except twelve, and their fortifications were delivered up to him, he entered their city on the sixteenth of the month Munychion (April), the very day they had overthrown the barbarians in the naval fight at Salamis. He presently set himself to change their form of government; and finding that the people resented his proposal, he told them, "That they had violated the terms of their capitulation, for their walls were still standing after the time fixed for the demolishing of them was passed; and that since they had broken the first articles, they must expect new ones from the council." Some say he really did propose in the council of the allies, to reduce the Athenians to slavery; and that Erianthus, a Theban officer, gave it as his opinion, that *the city should be levelled with the ground, and the spot on which it stood turned to pasturage.*

Afterwards, however, when the general officers met at an entertainment, a musician of Phocis happened to begin a *chorus* in the Electra of Eurypides, the first lines of which are these—

Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides, Thy straw-crown'd palace I approach.

The whole company were greatly moved at this incident, and could not help reflecting how barbarous a thing it would be to raze that noble city, which had produced so many great and illustrious men. Lysander, however, finding the Athenians entirely in his power, collected the musicians in the city, and having joined to them the band belonging to the camp, pulled down the walls and burned the ships to the sound of their instruments, while the confederates, crowned with flowers, danced, and hailed the day as the first of their liberty.

Immediately after this he changed the form of their government, appointing 30 archons in the city, and 10 in the Piræus, and plac-

[1] The Lacedæmonians knew that if the Athenian exiles were restored, they would be friends and partisans of theirs; and if they were not restored, they should have a pretext for distressing the Athenians when they pleased.

ing a garrison in the citadel, the command of which he gave to a Spartan, named Callibius. This Callibius, on some occasion or other, lifted up his staff to strike Autolycus, a wrestler whom Xenophon has mentioned in his *Symposiacs;* upon which Autolycus seized him by the legs, and threw him upon the ground. Lysander, instead of resenting this, told Callibius, by way of reprimand, "He knew not they were freemen, whom he had to govern." The thirty tyrants, however, in complaisance to Callibius, soon after put Autolycus to death.

Lysander,[1] when he had settled these affairs, sailed to Thrace.[2] As for the money that remained in his coffers, the crowns and other presents, which were many and very considerable, as may well be imagined, since his power was so extensive, and he was in a manner master of all Greece, he sent them to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had the chief command in Sicily. Gylippus, they tell us, opened the bags at the bottom, and took a considerable sum out of each, and then sewed them up again; but he was not aware that in every bag there was a note which gave account of the sum it contained. As soon as he arrived at Sparta, he hid the money he had taken out, under the tiles of his house, and then delivered the bags to the *ephori*, with the seals entire. They opened them, and counted the money, but found that the sums differed from the bills. At this they were not a little embarrassed, till a servant of Gylippus told them enigmatically, "a great number of owls roosted in the Ceramicus."[3] Most of the coin then bore the impression of an owl, in respect to the Athenians.

Gylippus, having sullied his former great and glorious actions by so base and unworthy a deed, quitted Lacedæmon. On this occasion, in particular, the wisest among the Spartans observed the influence of money, which could corrupt not only the meanest, but the most respectable citizens, and therefore were very warm in their reflections upon Lysander for introducing it. They insisted, too, that the *ephori* should send out all the silver and gold, as evils destructive in the proportion they were alluring.

In pursuance of this, a council was called, and a decree proposed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or, according to Ephorus, by Phlogidas, "That no coin, whether of gold or silver, should be admitted into Sparta, but that they should use the money they had long obtained." This money was of iron, dipped in vinegar, while it was red hot, to make it brittle and unmalleable, so that it might not be applied to any other use. Besides, it was heavy, and difficult of carriage, and a great quantity of it was but of little value. Perhaps all the ancient money was of this kind, and con-

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1 Xenophon says, he went now against Samos.

2 Plutarch should have mentioned in this place the conquest of the isle of Thasos, and in what a cruel manner Lysander, contrary to his solemn promise, massacred such of the inhabitants as had been in the interest of Athens. This is related by Polyænus. But as Plutarch tells us afterwards that he behaved in this manner to the Milesians, perhaps the story is the same, and there may be a mistake only in the names.

3 Ceramicus was the name of a place in Athens. It likewise signifies the tiling of a house.

sisted either of pieces of iron or brass, which from their form were called *obelisci*, whence we have still a quantity of small money called *oboli*, six of which make a *drachma* or *handful*, that being as much as the hand can contain.

The motion for sending out the money was opposed by Lysander's party, and they procured a decree, that it should be considered as the public treasure, that it should be a capital crime to convert any of it to private uses, as if Lycurgus had been afraid of the money, and not of the avarice it produces. And avarice was not so much prevented by forbidding the use of money in the occasions of private persons, as it was encouraged by allowing it in the public; for that added dignity to its use, and excited strong desires for its acquisition. Indeed, it was not to be imagined, that while it was valued in public, it would be despised in private, or that what they found so advantageous to the state should be looked upon of no concern to themselves. On the contrary, it is plain, that customs depending upon national institutions much sooner affect the lives and manners of individuals, than the errors and vices of individuals corrupt a whole nation. For, when the whole is distempered, the parts must be affected too; but when the disorder subsists only in some particular parts, it may be corrected and remedied by those that have not yet received the infection. So that these magistrates, while they set guards, I mean law and fear of punishment, at the doors of the citizens, to hinder the entrance of money, did not keep their minds untainted with the love of it; they rather inspired that love, by exhibiting wealth as a great and amiable thing.

Lysander out of the spoils he had taken, erected at Delphi his own statue, and those of his officers, in brass: he also dedicated in gold the stars of Castor and Pollux, which disappeared[1] before the battle of Leuctra. The galley made of gold and ivory,[2] which Cyrus sent in congratulation of his victory, and which was two cubits long, was placed in the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians. Alexandrides of Delphi writes,[3] that Lysander deposited there a talent of silver, 52 *minæ*, and 11 *staters*: but this is not agreeable to the accounts of his poverty we have from all historians.

Though Lysander had now attained to greater power than any Grecian before him, yet the pride and loftiness of his heart exceeded it. For he was the first of the Grecians, according to Duris, to whom altars were erected by several cities, and sacrifices offered, as to a god.[4] To Lysander two hymns were first sung, one of which began thus:—

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1 They were stolen. Plutarch mentions it as an omen of the dreadful loss the Spartans were to suffer in that battle.

2 So Aristobulus, the Jewish prince, presented Pompey with a golden vineyard or garden, valued at 500 talents. That vineyard was consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, as this galley was at Delphi.

3 This Alexandrides, or rather Anaxandrides, wrote an account of the offerings stolen from the temple at Delphi.

4 What incense the meanness of human nature can offer to one of their own species! nay, to one who, having no regard to honour or virtue, scarce deserved the name of a man! The Samians worshipped him, as the Indians do the devil, that he might do them no more hurt; that after one dreadful sacrifice to his cruelty, he might seek no more

To the famed leader of the Grecian bands,
From Sparta's ample plains! sing Io paean!

Nay, the Samians decreed that the feast which they had used to celebrate in honour of Juno, should be called the feast of Lysander. *He always kept the Spartan poet Chœrilus in his retinue,*[1] *that he might be ready to add lustre to his actions by the power of verse.* And when Antiochus had written some stanzas in his praise, he was so delighted that he gave him his hat full of silver. Antimachus of Colophon, and Niceratus of Heraclea, composed each a panegyric that bore his name, and contested in form for the prize. He adjudged the crown to Niceratus, at which Antimachus[2] was so much offended, that he suppressed his poem. Plato, who was then very young, and a great admirer of Antimachus' poetry, addressed him while under this chagrin, and told him, by way of consolation, "That the ignorant are sufferers by their ignorance, as the blind are by their want of sight." Aristonous, the lyrist, who had six times won the prize at the Pythian games, to pay his court to Lysander, promised him, that if he was once more victorious, he would declare himself Lysander's retainer, or even his slave.

Lysander's ambition was a burden only to the great, and to persons of equal rank with himself. But that arrogance and violence which grew into his temper along with his ambition, from the flatteries with which he was besieged, had a more extensive influence. He set no moderate bounds either to his favour or resentment. Governments, unlimited and unexamined, were the rewards of any friendship or hospitality he had experienced, and the sole punishment that could appease his anger was the death of his enemy; nor was there any way to escape.

There was an instance of this at Miletus. He was afraid that the leaders of the plebian party there would secure themselves by flight; therefore, to draw them from their retreats, he took an oath, not to do any of them the least injury. They trusted him, and made their appearance; but he immediately delivered them to the opposite party, and 800 were put to death. Infinite were the cruelties he exercised in every city, against those who were suspected of any inclination to popular government. For he not only consulted his own passions, and gratified his own revenge, but cooperated, in this respect, with the resentments and avarice of all his friends. Hence it was, that the saying of Eteocles the Lacedæmonian was reckoned a good one. "That Greece could not bear two Lysanders." Theophrastus, indeed, tells us, that Archistratus[3] had said the same thing of Alcibiades. But insolence, luxury, and

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1 There were three poets of this name, but their works were all lost. The first, who was of Samos, sung the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes. He flourished about the seventy-fifth Olympiad. The second was this Chœrilus of Sparta, who flourished about seventy years after the first. The third was he who attended Alexander the Great, about seventy years after the time of Lysander's Chœrilus.

2 According to others, he was at Claros. He was reckoned next to Homer in heroic poetry. But some thought him too pompous and verbose.

3 It should be read Archestratus.

vanity, were the most disagreeable parts of his character; whereas Lysander's power was attended with a cruelty and savageness of manners, that rendered it insupportable.

There were many complaints against him, which the Lacedæmonians paid no regard to. However, when Pharnabazus sent ambassadors to Sparta, to represent the injury he had received from the depredations committed in his province, the *ephori* were incensed, and put Thorax, one of his friends and colleagues, to death, having found silver in his possession contrary to the late law. They likewise ordered Lysander home by their *scytale*, the nature and use of which was this: Whenever the magistrates sent out an admiral or a general, they prepared two round pieces of wood with so much exactness, that they were perfectly equal both in length and thickness. One of these they kept themselves, the other was delivered to the officer then employed. These pieces of wood were called *scytalæ*. When they had any secret and important orders to convey to him, they took a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolled it about their own staff, one fold close to another, and then wrote their business on it. This done, they took off the scroll and sent it to the general. As soon as he received it, he applied it to his staff, which being just like that of the magistrates, all the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing: and though, before, the characters were so broken and disjointed, that nothing could be made of them, they now became plain and legible. The parchment, as well as the staff, is called *scytale*, as the thing measured bears the name of the measure.

Lysander, who was then in the Hellespont, was much alarmed at the *scytale*. Pharnabazus being the person whose impeachment he most dreaded, he hastened to an interview with him, in hopes of being able to compose their differences. When they met, he desired him to send another account to the magistrates, signifying that he neither had nor made any complaint. He was not aware (as the proverb has it) that "he was playing the Cretan with a Cretan." Pharnabazus promised to comply with his request, and wrote a letter in his presence agreeable to his directions, but had contrived to have another by him to a quite contrary effect. When the letter was to be sealed, he palmed that upon him which he had written privately, and which exactly resembled it. Lysander upon his arrival at Lacedæmon, went according to custom, to the senate-house, and delivered Pharnabazus's letter to the magistrates; assuring himself that the heaviest charge was removed. For he knew the Lacedæmonians paid particular attention to Pharnabazus, because of all the king's lieutenants, he had done them the greatest services in the war. When the *ephori* had read the letter, they shewed it to Lysander. He now found to his cost "that others have art besides Ulysses," and in great confusion left the senate-house.

A few days after, he applied to the magistrates, and told them he was obliged to go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and offer the sacrifices he had vowed before his battles. Some say that when he

was besieging the city of the Aphytæans in Thrace, Ammon actually appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him to raise the siege: that he complied with that order, and bade the Aphytæans sacrifice to Ammon; and for the same reason now hastened to pay his devotions to that deity in Libya. But it was generally believed that he only used the deity as a pretext, and that the true reason of his retiring was his fear of the *ephori*, and his aversion to subjection. He chose rather to wander in foreign countries than to be controlled at home. His haughty spirit was like that of a horse, which has long ranged the pastures at liberty, and returns with reluctance to the stall, and to his former burden.

With much difficulty he got leave of the *ephori* to depart, and took his voyage. While he was upon it, the kings considered that it was by means of the associations he had formed, that he held the cities in subjection, and was in effect master of all Greece. They resolved, therefore, to drive out his friends, and re-establish the popular governments. This occasioned new commotions. First of all, the Athenians, from the castle of Phyle,[1] attacked the 30 tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this Lysander returned, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to support the oligarchies, and to chastise the people; in consequence of which they remitted 100 talents to the tyrants, to enable them to carry on the war, and appointed Lysander himself their general. But the envy with which the kings were actuated, and their fear that he would take Athens a second time, led them to determine, that one of them should attend the expedition. Accordingly Pausanias marched into Attica, in appearance to support the 30 tyrants against the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, lest Lysander, by his interest in Athens, should become master of it again. This he easily effected. By reconciling the Athenians amongst themselves, and composing the tumults, he clipped the wings of Lysander's ambition. Yet, as the Athenians revolted soon after, Pausanias was blamed for taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and insolent again. On the contrary, it added to the reputation of Lysander: he was now considered as a man who took not his measures either through favour or ostentation, but in all his operations, how severe soever, kept a strict and steady eye upon the interests of Sparta.

Lysander, indeed, had a ferocity in his expressions as well as actions, which confounded his adversaries. When the Argives had a dispute with him about their boundaries, and thought their plea better than that of the Lacedæmonians, he shewed them his sword, and said, "He that is master of this can best plead about boundaries."

When a citizen of Megara treated him with great freedom in a certain conversation, he said, "My friend, those words of thine should not come but from strong walls and bulwarks."

When the Bœotians hesitated upon some propositions he made

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1 A castle above Athens, strongly situated. Xenophon often mentions it in the second book of his Grecian History

them, he asked them, "Whether he should trail or push his pikes amongst them?"

The Corinthians having deserted the league, he advanced up to their walls, but the Lacedæmonians, he found, were very loth to begin the assault. A hare just then happening to start out of the trenches, he took occasion to say, "Are not you ashamed to dread those enemies, who are so idle that the very hares sit in quiet under their walls?"

When king Agis paid the last tribute to nature, he left behind him a brother named Agesilaus, and a reputed son named Leotychidas. Lysander, who had regarded Agesilaus with an extraordinary affection, persuaded him to lay claim to the crown, as a genuine descendant of Hercules; whereas Leotychidas was suspected to be the son of Alcibiades, and the fruit of a private commerce which he had with Timæa, the wife of Agis, during his exile in Sparta. Agis, they tell us, from his computation of the time, concluded that the child was not his, and therefore took no notice of Leotychidas, but rather openly disavowed him through the whole course of his life. However, when he fell sick, and was carried to Herræa,[1] he was prevailed upon by the entreaties of the youth himself, and of his friends, before he died, to declare before many witnesses that Leotychidas was his lawful son. At the same time, he desired all persons present to testify these his last words to the Lacedæmonians, and then immediately expired.

Accordingly, they gave their testimony in favour of Leotychidas. As for Agesilaus, he was a man of uncommon merit, and supported besides by the interest of Lysander; but his affairs were near being ruined by Diophites, a famous interpreter of oracles, who applied this prophecy to his lameness[2]—

> Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire
> Thy boasted strength impair; for other woes
> Than thou behold'st await thee—borne away
> By the strong tide of war.———

Many believed this interpretation, and were turning to Leotychidas. But Lysander observed, that Diophites had mistaken the sense of the oracle; for that the deity did not give himself any concern about their being governed by a lame king, but meant that their government would be lame if spurious persons should wear the crown amongst the race of Hercules. Thus, partly by his address, and partly by his interest, he prevailed upon them to give the preference to Agesilaus, and he was declared king.

Lysander immediately pressed him to carry the war into Asia, encouraging him with the hope of destroying the Persian monarchy, and becoming himself the greatest of mankind. He likewise sent

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1 Xenophon (l. iii.) tells us that Agis fell sick at Heræa, a city of Arcadia, on his way from Delphi, and that he was carried to Sparta, and died there.

2 The oracle considered the two kings of Sparta as its two legs, the supports of its freedom; which in fact they were, by being a check upon each other. The Lacedæmonians were therefore admonished to beware of a lame government, of having their republic converted into a monarchy; which, indeed, proved their ruin at last.—Justin. l. vi.

instructions to his friends in Asia, to petition the Lacedæmonians to give Agesilaus the conduct of the war against the barbarians. They complied with his order, and sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon for that purpose. Indeed, this command, which Lysander procured Agesilaus, seems to have been an honour equal to the crown itself. But ambitious spirits, though in other respects not unfit for affairs of state, are hindered from many great actions by the envy they bear their fellow-candidates for fame. For thus they make those their adversaries, who would otherwise have been their assistants in the course of glory.

Agesilaus took Lysander with him, made him one of his thirty counsellors, and gave him the first rank in his friendship. But when they came into Asia, Agesilaus found, that the people, being unacquainted with him, seldom applied to him, and were very short in their addresses; whereas Lysander, whom they had long known, had them always at his gates or in his train, some attending out of friendship, and others out of fear. Just as it happens in tragedies, that a principal actor represents a messenger or a servant, and is admired in that character, while he who bears the diadem and sceptre is hardly listened to when he speaks; so in this case the counsellor engrossed all the honour, and the king had the title of commander without the power.

Doubtless this unseasonable ambition of Lysander deserved correction, and he was to be made to know that the second place only belonged to him. But entirely to cast off a friend and benefactor, and, from a jealousy of honour, to expose him to scorn, was a step unworthy the character of Agesilaus. He began with taking business out of his hands, and making it a point not to employ him on any occasion where he might distinguish himself. In the next place, those for whom Lysander interested himself were sure to miscarry, and to meet with less indulgence than others of the meanest station. Thus the king gradually undermined his power.

When Lysander found that he failed in all his applications, and that his kindness was only a hinderance to his friends, he desired them to forbear their addresses to him, and to wait only upon the king, or the present dispensers of his favours. In consequence of this, they gave him no farther trouble about business, but still continued their attentions, and joined him in the public walks and other places of resort. This gave Agesilaus more pain than ever; and his envy and jealousy continually increased; insomuch that while he gave commands and governments to common soldiers, he appointed Lysander his carver. Then, to insult the Ionians, he bade them "go and make their court to his carver."

Hereupon Lysander determined to come to an explanation with him, and their discourse was very laconic. "Truly, Agesilaus, you know very well how to tread upon your friends." "Yes," said he, "when they want to be greater than myself. It is but fit that those who are willing to advance my power should share it." "Perhaps," said Lysander, "this is rather what you say than what I did. I beg of you, however, for the sake of strangers who have their eyes upon

us, that you will put me in some post, where I may be least obnoxious, and most useful to you."

Agreeably to this request, the lieutenancy of the Hellespont was granted him; and though he still retained his resentment against Agesilaus, he did not neglect his duty. He found Spithridates,[1] a Persian remarkable for his valour, and with an army at his command, at variance with Pharnabazus, and persuaded him to revolt to Agesilaus. This was the only service he was employed upon; and when this commission was expired, he returned to Sparta, in great disgrace, highly incensed against Agesilaus, and more displeased than ever with the whole frame of government. He resolved, therefore, now, without any farther loss of time, to bring about the change he had long meditated in the constitution.

When the Heraclidæ mixed with the Dorians, and settled in Peloponnesus, there was a large and flourishing tribe of them at Sparta. The whole, however, were not entitled to the regal succession, but only two families, the Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ; while the rest had no share in the administration on account of their high birth; for as to the common rewards of virtue, they were open to all men of distinguished merit. Lysander, who was of this lineage, no sooner saw himself exalted by his great actions, and supported with friends and power, but he became uneasy to think that a city which owed its grandeur to him, should be ruled by others no better descended than himself. Hence he entertained a design to alter the settlement which confined the succession to two families only, and to lay it open to all the Heraclidæ. Some say his intention was to extend this high honour not only to all the Heraclidæ, but to all the citizens of Sparta; that it might not so much belong to the posterity of Hercules, as to those who resembled Hercules in that virtue which numbered him with the gods. He hoped, too, that when the crown was settled in this manner, no Spartan would have better pretensions than himself.

At first he prepared to draw the citizens into his scheme, and committed to memory an oration written by Cleon of Halicarnassus for that purpose. But he soon saw that so great and difficult a reformation required bolder and more extraordinary methods to bring it to bear. And, as in tragedy machinery is made use of, where more natural means will not do, so he resolved to strike the people with oracles and prophecies; well knowing that the eloquence of Cleon would avail but little, unless he first subdued their minds with divine sanctions, and the terrors of superstition. Ephorus tells us, he first attempted to corrupt the priestess of Delphi, and afterwards those of Dodona by means of one Pherecles, and having no success in either application, he went himself to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the priests large sums of gold. They too rejected his offers with indignation, and sent deputies to Sparta to accuse him of that crime. When these Libyans found he was

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[1] So Xenophon calls him, not Mithridates, the common reading in Plutarch. Indeed, some manuscripts have it Spithridates in the life of Agesilaus.

acquitted, they took their leave of the Spartans in this manner—"We will pass better judgments when you come to live among us in Libya." It seems there was an ancient prophecy that the Lacedæmonians would sometime or other settle in Africa. This whole scheme of Lysander's was of no ordinary texture, nor took its rise from accidental circumstances, but was laid deep, and conducted with uncommon art and address, so that it may be compared to a mathematical demonstration in which, from some principles first assumed, the conclusion is deduced through a variety of obstruse and intricate steps. We shall, therefore, explain it at large, taking Ephorus, who was both an historian and philosopher, for our guide.

There was a woman in Pontus who gave it out that she was pregnant by Apollo. Many rejected her assertion, and many believed it. So that when she was delivered of a son, several persons of the greatest eminence took particular care of his education, and for some reason or other gave him the name of Silenus. Lysander took this miraculous birth for a foundation, and raised all his building upon it. He made choice of such assistants as might bring the story into reputation, and put it beyond suspicion. Then he got another story propagated at Delphi and spread at Sparta, "That certain ancient oracles were kept in the private registers of the priests which it was not lawful to touch or to look upon, till in some future age a person should arise who could clearly prove himself the son of Apollo, and he was to interpret and publish those oracles." The way thus prepared, Silenus was to make his appearance as the son of Apollo, and demand the oracles. The priests, who were in combination, were to inquire into every article, and examine him strictly as to his birth. At last they were to pretend to be convinced of his divine parentage, and to show him the books. Silenus then was to read in public all those prophecies, particularly that for which the whole design was set on foot, namely, "That it would be more for the honour and interest of Sparta to set aside the present race of kings, and choose others out of the best and most worthy of men in the commonwealth." But when Silenus was grown up, and came to undertake his part, Lysander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry by the cowardice of one of the actors, whose heart failed him just as the thing was going to be put in execution. However, nothing of this was discovered while Lysander lived.

He died before Agesilaus returned from Asia, after he had engaged his country, or rather involved all Greece, in the Bœotian war. It is indeed related variously, some laying the blame upon him, some upon the Thebans, and others upon both. Those who charge the Thebans with it say, they overturned the altar and profaned the sacrifice[1] Agesilaus was offering at Aulus; and that

[1] Besides this affair of the sacrifice, the Lacedæmonians were offended at the Thebans, for their claiming the tenths of the treasure taken at Dercelea; as well as for refusing to attend them in their expedition against the Piræus, and dissuading the Corinthians from joining in that enterprise. Indeed, the Thebans began to be jealous of the growing power of the Lacedæmonians, and did not want to see the Athenians, whose weight had been considerable in the balance of power, entirely ruined. Xenoph. Gr. Hist. l. iii.

Androclides and Amphitheus being corrupted with Persian money,[1] attacked the Phocians and laid waste their country, in order to draw upon the Lacedæmonians the Grecian war. On the other hand, they who make Lysander the auther of the war inform us, he was highly displeased that the Thebans only, of all the confederates, should claim the tenth of the Athenian spoils taken at Deccelea, and complain of his sending the money to Sparta. But what he most resented was, their putting the Athenians in a way of delivering themselves from the 30 tyrants whom he had set up. The Lacedæmonians, to strengthen the hands of other tyrants and make them more formidable, had decreed, that if any Athenian fled out of the city, he should be apprehended wherever he was found, and obliged to return; and that whoever opposed the taking such fugitives should be treated as enemies to Sparta. The Thebans on that occasion, gave out orders that deserve to be enrolled with the actions of Hercules and Bacchus. They caused proclamation to be made, "That every house and city should be open to such Athenians as desired protection; that whoever refused assistance to a fugitive that was seized should be fined a talent; and that if any one should carry arms through Bœotia against the Athenian tyrants, he should not meet with the least molestation." Nor were their actions unsuitable to these decrees so humane and so worthy of Grecians. When Thrasybulus and his company seized the castle of Phyle, and laid the plan of their other operations, it was from Thebes they set out, and the Thebans not only supplied them with arms and money, but gave them a kind reception and every encouragement. These were the grounds of Lysander's resentment against them.

He was naturally prone to anger, and the melancholy that grew upon him with years made him still more so. He therefore importuned the *ephori* to send him against the Thebans. Accordingly he was employed, and marched out at the head of one army, and Pausanias was soon sent after him with another. Pausanias took a circuit by Mount Cithæron to enter Bœotia, and Lysander went through Phocis with a very considerable force to meet him. The city of Orchomenus was surrendered to him as he was upon his march, and he took Lebadia by storm and plundered it. From thence he sent letters to Pausanias, to desire him to remove from Platæa, and join him at Haliartus, for he intended to be there himself by break of day. But the messenger was taken by a Theban reconnoitring party, and the letters were carried to Thebes. Hereupon the Thebans entrusted their city with a body of Athenian auxiliaries, and marched out themselves about midnight for Haliartus. They reached the town a little before Lysander, and entered

[1] These were not the only persons who had taken the Persian money. Tithraustes, alarmed at the progress Agesilaus was making in Asia, sent Timocrates the Rhodian with 50 talents to be distributed among the leading men in the states of Greece. Those of Corinth and Argos had their share as well as the Thebans. In consequence of this the Thebans persuaded the Locrians to pillage a tract of land that was in dispute between the Phocians and the Thebans. The Phocians made reprisals. The Thebans supported the Locrians; whereupon the Phocians applied to the Spartans, and the war became general.

it with part of their forces. Lysander at first thought proper to encamp upon an eminence, and wait for Pausanias. But when the day began to decline he grew impatient, and ordered the Lacedæmonians and confederates to arms. Then he led out his troops in a direct line along the high road up to the walls. The Thebans who remained without, taking the city on the left, fell upon his rear, at the fountain called Cissusa[1]

It is fabled that the nurses of Bacchus washed him in this fountain immediately after his birth. The water is, indeed, of a bright and shining colour like wine, and a most agreeable taste, not far off grow the Cretan canes,[2] of which javelins are made, by which the Harliartians would prove that Rhadamanthus dwelt there. Besides they show his tomb, which they call Alea. The monument of Alcmena, too, is near that place; and nothing they say can be more probable than that she was buried there, because she married Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death.

The other Thebans who had entered the city, drew up with the Haliartians, and stood still for some time. But when they saw Lysander with his vanguard approaching the walls, they rushed out at the gates and killed him, with a diviner by his side, and some few more; for the greatest part retired as fast as possible to the main body. The Thebans pursued their advantage, and pressed upon them with so much ardour, that they were soon put to the rout and fled to the hills. Their loss amounted to 1000, and that of the Thebans to 300. The latter lost their lives by chasing the enemy into craggy and dangerous ascents. These 300 had been accused of favouring the Lacedæmonians; and being determined to wipe off that stain, they pursued them with a rashness which proved fatal to themselves.

Pausanias received the news of this misfortune as he was upon his march from Platæa to Thespiæ, and he continued his route in good order to Haliartus. Thrasybulus likewise brought up his Athenians thither from Thebes. Pausanias wanted a truce that he might article for the dead; but the older Spartans could not think of it without indignation. They went to him and declared, "That they would never recover the body of Lysander by truce but by arms; that if they conquered they should bring it off and bury it with honour, and if they were worsted, they should fall gloriously upon the same spot with their commander." Notwithstanding these representations of the veterans, Pausanias saw it would be very difficult to beat the Thebans now flushed with victory; and that even if he should have the advantage, he could hardly without a truce carry off the body which lay so near the walls. He therefore sent a herald, who settled the conditions, and then retired with his army. As soon as they were got out of the confines of Bœotia, they interred

[1] The name of this fountain should probably be corrected from Pausanias and Strabo, and read *Tilphusa* or *Tilphossa*.

[2] Strabo tells us Haliartus was destroyed by the Romans in the war with Perseus. He also mentions a lake near it, which produces canes or reeds, not for shafts of javelins, but for pipes or flutes. Plutarch too mentions the latter use in the life of Sylla.

Lysander in the territories of the Penopæans, which was the first ground belonging to their friends and confederates. His monument still remains by the road from Delphi to Chæronea. While the Lacedæmonians had their quarters there, it is reported that a certain Phocian who was giving an account of the action to a friend of his that was not in it, said, "The enemy fell upon them just after Lysander had passed the Hoplites. While the man stood wondering at the account, a Spartan, a friend of Lysander's, asked the Phocian what he meant by *Hoplites*,[1] for he could make nothing of it. "I mean," said he, "the place where the enemy cut down our first ranks. The river that runs by the town is called Hoplites." The Spartan when he heard this, burst out into tears, and cried out, "How inevitable is fate!" It seems Lysander had received an oracle couched in these terms—

Fly from Hoplites and the earth-born dragon That stings thee in the rear.

Some say the Hoplites does not run by Haliartus, but is a brook near Coronea, which mixes with the river Phliarus, and runs along to that city. It was formerly called Hoplias, but is now known by the name of Isomantus. The Haliartian who killed Lysander was named Neochorus, and he bore a dragon on his shield, which it was supposed, the oracle referred to.

They tell us, too, that the city of Thebes, during the Peloponnesian war, had an oracle from the Ismenian Apollo, which foretold the battle at Delium,[2] and this at Haliartus, though the latter did not happen till thirty years after the other. The oracle runs thus:

Beware the confines of the wolf; nor spread
Thy snares for foxes on the Orchalian hills.

The country about Delium he calls the confines, because Bœotia there borders upon Attica; and by the Orchalian hill is meant that in particular called *Alopecus (fox-hill)* on that side of Helicon which looks towards Haliartus.

After the death of Lysander, the Spartans so much resented the whole behaviour of Pausanias with respect to that event, that they summoned him to be tried for his life. He did not appear to answer that charge, but fled to Tegea, and took refuge in Minerva's temple, where he spent the rest of his days as her suppliant.

Lysander's poverty, which was discovered after his death, added lustre to his virtue. It was then found, that notwithstanding the money which had passed through his hand, the authority he had exercised over so many cities, and indeed the great empire he had been possessed of, he had not in the least improved his family fortune. This account we have from Theopompus, whom we more easily believe when he commends than when he finds fault; for he, as well as many others, was more inclined to censure than to praise.

[1] *Hoplites*, though the name of that river, signifies also a *heavy armed soldier*.

[2] The battle of Delium, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans, was fought the first year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, 422 years B.C.; and that of Haliartus full 30 years after. But it is common for historians to make use of a round number, except in cases where great precision is required

Ephorus tells us, that afterwards, upon some disputes between the confederates and the Spartans, it was thought necessary to inspect the writings of Lysander, and for that purpose Agesilaus went to his house. Among the other papers he found that political one, calculated to shew how proper it would be to take the right of succession from the Eurytionidæ and Agidæ, and to elect kings from among persons of the greatest merit. He was going to produce it before the citizens, and to shew what the real principles of Lysander were. But Lacratides, a man of sense, and the principal of the *ephori*, kept him from it, by representing, "How wrong it would be to dig Lysander out of his grave, when this oration, which was written in so artful and persuasive a manner, ought rather to be buried with him."

Among the other honours paid to the memory of Lysander, that which I am going to mention is none of the least. Some persons who had contracted themselves to his daughters in his life-time, when they found he died poor, fell off from their engagement. The Spartans fined them for courting the alliance while they had riches in view, and breaking off when they discovered that poverty, which was the best proof of Lysander's probity and justice. It seems at *Sparta there was a law which punished, not only those who continued in a state of celibacy, or married too late, but those that married ill;* and it was levelled chiefly at persons who married into rich, rather than good families. Such are the particulars of Lysander's life which history has supplied us with.

ALCIBIADES.

THOSE that have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, say that Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family; and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmæon: for Dinemache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and afterwards was slain in the battle of Coronæa, where the Bœotians won the day. Pericles and Ariphron, the sons of Zanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said, (and not without reason) that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes, were illustrious persons, and his contemporaries, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of either of them; whereas we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amycla; as well as that Zopyrus was his school-master; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charms through the several stages of childhood,

youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true, what Euripides says,

> The very autumn of a form once fine Retains its beauties.

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. Aristophanes, in those verses wherein he ridicules Theoras, takes notice, that Alcibiades lisped, for instead of calling him *Corax*, *Raven*, he called him *Colax*, *Flatterer*; from whence the poet takes occasion to observe, that the term in that lisping pronunciation, too, was very applicable to him. With this agrees the satirical description which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades:

> With mincing step, to imitate his father,
> The vain youth moves: his loose robe wildly floats;
> He bends the neck: he lisps.

His manners were far from being uniform; nor is it strange, that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions; but his ruling passion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings when a boy. When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold, and said, "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." "No," says he, "like a lion."

One day he was playing at dice with other boys, in the street; and when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarding him and driving on, the other boys broke away; but Alcibiades threw himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this, he was so startled that he stopped his horses, while those that saw it ran up to him with terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. "The use of the *plectrum* upon the lyre," he would say, "has nothing in it that disorders the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays upon the flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the performer from speaking or accompanying it with a song: whereas the flute so engages the mouth and the breath, that it leaves no possibility of speaking. Therefore let the Theban youth pipe, who know not how to discourse; but we Athenians, according to the account of our ancestors, have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector; one of whom threw away the flute, and the other, Marsyas, stripped off the man's skin who played upon it." Thus partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himself and others from learning to play upon the flute: for it soon became the talk

among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in holding that art in abomination, and ridiculing those that practised it. Thus it lost its place in the number of liberal accomplishments, and was universally exploded.

In the invective which Antipho wrote against Alcibiades, one story is, that when a boy he ran away from his guardians to one of his friends named Democrates: and that Ariphron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, "If he is dead, we shall only find him one day the sooner for it; if he is safe, it will be a reproach to him as long as he lives." Another story is that he killed one of his servants with a stroke of his stick, in Sibyrtius's place of exercise. But, perhaps, we should not give entire credit to these things, which were professedly written by an enemy, to defame him.

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. *Socrates was the only one whose regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuity;* the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form. And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it, and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose its fruit and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him inaccessible to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the searching-probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From the first he was surrounded with pleasures, and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof; yet, by his native penetration, he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart, and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance,

Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone. He droop'd the conquer'd wing.

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom, and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came under the influence of that power, who, as Plato says, secures his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough. Nay, to some he behaved with great insolence, to Anytus (for instance) the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers, he desired Alcibiades to give him his

company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation, but having drank deep with some of his acquaintance at his own house, he went thither to play some frolic. The frolic was this: He stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and seeing a great number of gold and silver cups upon the table, he ordered his servants to take half of them, and carry them to his own house;[1] and then, not vouchsafing so much as to enter into the room himself: as soon as he had done this, he went away. The company resented the affront, and said, he had behaved very rudely and insolently to Anytus. "Not at all," said Anytus, "but rather kindly, since he has left us half, when he knew it was in his power to take the whole."

He behaved in the same manner to his other admirers, except only one stranger. This man (they tell us) was but in indifferent circumstances; for when he had sold all, he could make up no more than the sum of 100 *staters*,[2] which he carried to Alcibiades, and begged of him to accept it. Alcibiades was pleased at the thing, and smiling, invited him to supper. After a kind reception and entertainment, he gave him the gold again, but required him to be present the next day, when the public revenues were to be offered to farm, and to be sure and be the highest bidder. The man endeavouring to excuse himself, because the rent would be many talents, Alcibiades, who had a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. Next morning, therefore, the stranger appeared in the market-place, and offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers, uneasy and angry at this, called upon him to name his security, supposing that he could not find any. The poor man was indeed much startled, and going to retire with shame, when Alcibiades, who stood at some distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set down my name; he is my friend, and I will be his security." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed; for their way was, with the profits of the present year to pay the rent of the preceding; so that, seeing no other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they applied to the stranger in a humble strain, and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent, which accordingly was paid. Having done him this service, he told him he might relinquish his bargain.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and

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[1] Athenæus says, he did not keep them himself, but having taken them from this man, who was rich, he gave them to Timandrus, who was poor.

[2] The *stater* was a coin which weighed four Attic drachmas, and was either of gold or silver. The silver was worth about 2s 0d sterling. The *stater darici*, a gold coin, was worth 1l. 3s. 3d.: but the Attic *stater* of gold must be worth much more, if we reckon the proportion of gold to silver only at ten to one, as it was then; whereas now it is about sixteen to one. Dacier, then, is greatly mistaken, when he says the *stater* here mentioned by Plutarch was worth only 10 French sols: for Plutarch says expressly that these *staters* were of gold.

was drawn away by his flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him; the rest he held in great contempt. Hence that saying of Cleanthes, "Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he scorns to meddle." In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure; and what Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives occasion to believe so. Those who endeavoured to corrupt him attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into vast designs and unseasonable projects, persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he would not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself, in point of reputation as well as interest with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water, so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swollen with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses; for from them he learned the number of his defects and the imperfection of his virtue.

When he was past his childhood, happening to go into a grammar-school, he asked the master for a volume of Homer; and upon his making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and so left him. Another schoolmaster telling him he had Homer corrected by himself: "How!" said Alcibiades, "and do you employ your time in teaching children to read?—you who are able to correct Homer, might seem to be fit to instruct men."

One day, wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house, and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure, he said as he went away, "He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all."

Whilst he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both behaved with great gallantry; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the sight of the whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it to Alcibiades on account of his quality; and Socrates, willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and pressed them to adjudge him the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium, where the Athenians were routed,[1] and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought

[1] Laches, as introduced by Plato, tells us, that if others had done their duty as Socrates did his, the Athenians would not have been defeated in the battle of Delium. That battle was fought the first year of the eighty ninth olympiad, eight years after the battle of Potidæa.

him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward, and killed great numbers of the Athenians.

To Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man respectable both for his birth and fortune, Alcibiades one day gave a box on the ear; not that he had any quarrel with him, or was heated by passion, but purely because, in a wanton frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of this insolence, and everybody (as it was natural to expect) expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait on Hipponicus, knocked at the door, and was admitted. As soon as he came into his presence, he stripped off his garment, and presenting his naked body, desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased: but instead of that, Hipponicus pardoned him, and forgot all his resentment: nay, some time after, he even gave him his daughter, Hipparete in marriage. Some say it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with 10 talents to her portion; and that when she brought him a child, he demanded 10 talents more, as if he had taken her on that condition. Though this was but a groundless pretence, yet Callias, apprehensive of some bad consequence from his artful contrivances, in a full assembly of the people, declared, that if he should happen to die without children, Alcibiades should be his heir.

Hipparete made a prudent and affectionate wife; but at last growing very uneasy at her husband's associating with so many courtezans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's. Alcibiades went on with his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about his wife; but *it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill of divorce to the archon, and to appear personally with it;* for the sending of it by another hand would not do. When she came to do this according to law, Alcibiades rushed in, caught her in his arms, and carried her through the market-place to his own house, no one presuming to oppose him, or to take her from him. From that time she remained with him until her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades was upon his voyage to Ephesus. Nor does the violence used in this case seem to be contrary to the laws either of society in general, or of that republic in particular; for the law of Athens, in requiring her who wants to be divorced to appear publicly in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity to meet with her and recover her.

Alcibiades had a dog of uncommon size and beauty, which cost him 70 *minæ*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him that all Athens rung with the story of his foolish treatment of the dog, at which he laughed and said, "This is the very thing I wanted, for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me."

The first thing that made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design,

but accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant; and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distributed money, too, as he went in amongst them. This meeting with great applause, he was so much delighted that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe,[1] and the bird, frightened with the noises, flew away. Upon this, the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man who did catch it, and bring it to him, was one Antiochus,[2] a pilot, for whom ever after he had a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations; but what he chose above all the rest to recommend himself by to the people was the charms of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker the comic writers bear witness; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias,[3] where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time; and if we believe Theophrastus, a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers. Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention and readiness of ideas, which eminently distinguished him; but as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expression, and he had not the greatest facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a speech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopped until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horses and the number of chariots; for no one besides himself, whether private person or king, ever sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds everything performed by the most ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his success:

> Great son of Clinias, I record thy glory,
> First on the dusty plain The threefold prize to gain.
> What hero boasts thy praise in Grecian story?
> Twice[4] does the trumpet's voice proclaim Aloud the plaudive cirque thy honour'd [name:
> Twice on thy brow was seen The peaceful olive's green—
> The glorious palm of easy purchased fame.[5]

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in the pre-

[1] It was the fashion in those days to breed quails. Plato reports that Socrates having brought Alcibiades to acknowledge, that the way to rise to distinction among the Athenians, was to study to excel the generals of their enemies, replied with this severe irony, "No, no, Alcibiades; your only study is how to surpass Midias in the art of breeding quails."—PLATO in 1. Alcib.

[2] The name of the man who caught the quail would hardly have been mentioned, had not Alcibiades afterwards entrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence; when he took the opportunity to fight, and was beaten.

[3] It appears from that passage of Demosthenes, that he spoke only from common fame, and consequently that there was little of Alcibiades's then extant. We find some remains of his oratory in Thucydides.

[4] Alcibiades won the first, second, and third prizes in person; besides which his chariots won twice in his absence.

[5] Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, writes, that Chios fed his horses, and Cyzicus provided his victims. The pas-

sents they made him, gave a still greater lustre to his success. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for him; Chios was at the expense of keeping his horses and beasts for sacrifice; and Lesbos found him in wine and every thing necessary for the most elegant public table. Yet, amidst this success, he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. It seems there was at Athens one Diomedes, a man of good character and a friend of Alcibiades, who was very desirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games; and being informed that there was a chariot to be sold, which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a strong interest, he persuaded him to buy it for him. Accordingly he did buy it, and kept it for himself, leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. For this there seems to have been an action brought against him; and there is extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates, in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth; but there the plaintiff is named Tisius, not Diomedes.

Alcibiades was very young when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon shewed himself superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him, were Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time. The former was but a youth like himself, just beginning to make his way; for which he had the advantage of high birth; but in other respects, as well as in the art of speaking, was inferior to Alcibiades. He seemed fitter for soliciting and persuading in private, than for stemming the torrent of a public debate; in short, he was one of those of whom Eupolis says, "*True, he can talk, and yet he is no speaker.*" There is extant an oration against Alcibiades and Phæax, in which, among other things, it is alleged against Alcibiades, that he used at his table many of the gold and silver vessels provided for the sacred processions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithois, whom Thucydides makes mention of as a very bad man, and who was a constant subject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say of him, and being regardless of honour, he was also insensible of shame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and a noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheless made use of him, when they wanted to strike at

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sage is remarkable, for we learn from it that this was done, not only when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in his warlike expeditions, and even in his travels. "Whenever," says he, "Alcibiades travelled, four cities of the allies ministered to him as his handmaids. Ephesus furnished him with tents as sumptuous as those of the Persians: Chios found provender for his horses; Clazomenæ supplied him with victims and provisions for his table; and Lesbos with wine and all other necessaries for his household." None but opulent cities were able to answer such an expense: for at the time when Alcibiades won the three prizes in person at the Olympic games, after he had offered a very costly sacrifice to Jupiter, he entertained at a magnificent repast that innumerable company which had assisted at the games.

persons in authority. At his instigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *ostracism*, by which they pull down and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear.

As it was evident, that this sentence was levelled against one of the three, Phæax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and leaguing with Nicias, caused the *ostracism* to fall upon Hyperbolus himself. Some say, it was not Nicias, but Phæax, with whom Alcibiades joined interest, and by whose assistance he expelled their common enemy, when he expected nothing less. For no vile or infamous person had ever undergone that punishment. So Plato, the comic poet, assures us, thus speaking of Hyperbolus:

> Well had the caitiff earn'd his banishment,
> But not by ostracism; that sentence sacred To dangerous eminence.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. The rites of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos; yet when they found that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered the captives, their regards centred in him. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and out of envy of Nicias, determined to break the league.

As soon then as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and consequently wanted to get clear of all connection with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens; and both by his agents and in person, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander-in-chief, to make that[1] party prisoners who were left by the

1 After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fort of Pylos in Messenia, they left, in the isle of Sphacteria, which was opposite that fort, a garrison of 320 men, besides Helots, under the command of Epitadas the son of Molobrus. The Athenians would have sent Nicias, while commander-in-chief, with a fleet against that island, but he excused himself. Afterwards Cleon, in conjunction with Demosthenes, got possession of it, after a long dispute, wherein several of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and sent to Athens. Among those prisoners were

enemy in Sphacteria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians; he farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians: but that when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted; but at that very juncture it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened: but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the mean time; and thus he addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon! what is it you are going to do? Are not you apprized that the behaviour of the senate is always candid and humane to those who apply to it, whereas the people are haughty and expect great concessions? If you say that you are come with full powers, you will find them intractable and extravagant in their demands. Come, then, retract that imprudent declaration, and if you desire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, and not to have terms extorted from you, which you cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a discretionary commission. I will use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promise with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm, as if he had received an injury, not done one; and calling them faithless, prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to say any thing honourable. The senate was incensed; the people were enraged; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives,[1] the Mantineans, and Eleans, as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the

120 Spartans, who by the assistance of Nicias got released. The Lacedæmonians afterwards recovered the fort of Pylos: for Anytus, who was sent with a squadron to support it, finding the wind directly against it, returned to Athens; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die; which sentence, however, he commuted by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner.

1 He concluded a league with these states for 100 years which Thucydides has inserted at full length in his fifth book; and by which we learn that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no less perfect and explicit than ours. Their treaties were of as little consequence too: for how soon was that broken which the Athenians had made with the Lacedæmonians.

manner of this transaction, but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea,[1] the principal officers[2] of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters; and Alcibiades coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and masons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ too, to join their city to the sea by long walls. And somebody observing to the Patræsians, "That the Athenians would one day swallow them up;" "Possibly it may be so," said Alcibiades, "but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the head, and do it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land as well as of the sea; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to shew by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos.[3] *The oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives, as the bounds of Attica; by which it is insinuated, that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.*

But these, his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking, and debauches; his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. *He wore a purple robe with a long train, when he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards but hanging upon girths.* And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual ensigns[4] of

1 That battle was fought nearly three years after the conclusion of the treaty with Argos.

2 Those officers availed themselves of the consternation the people of Argos were in after the loss of the battle; and the Lacedæmonians gladly supported them, from a persuasion that if the popular government were abolished, and an aristocracy (like that of Sparta) set up in Argos, they should soon be masters there.

3 Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, had devoted herself to death for the benefit of her country; it has been supposed, therefore, that the oath which the young Athenians took, bound them to do something of that nature, if need should require; though, as given by Plutarch, it implies only an unjust resolution to extend the Athenian dominions to all lands that were worth seizing. Demosthenes mentions the oath in his oration *De falsa legat* but does not explain it.

4 Both cities and private persons had, of old, their ensigns, devices, or arms. Those of the Athenians were commonly Minerva, the owl, or the olive. "None but people of figure were allowed to bear any devices; nor even they, until they had performed some action to deserve

his country, but in their stead a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion, and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes well expresses how the bulk of the people were disposed towards him:

> They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.

And again he satirizes him still more severely by the following allusion:—

> Nurse not a lion's whelp within your walls,
> But if he is brought up there, soothe the brute.

The truth is, his prodigious liberality, the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people; the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them sallies of youth and good-humoured frolics. Such were his confining Agatharcus the painter,[1] until he had painted his house, and then dismissing him with a handsome present; his giving a box on the ear to Taureus, who exhibited games in opposition to him, and vied with him for the preference, and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his mistress, and bringing up a child he had by her. These were what they called his good-humoured frolics. But surely we cannot bestow that appellation upon the slaughtering of all the males in the island of Melos,[2] who had arrived at years of puberty, which was, in consequence of a decree that he promoted. Again, when Aristophon had painted the courtezan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to see it, but such of the Athenians as were more advanced in years were much displeased, and considered these as sights fit only for a tyrant's court, and as insults on the laws of Athens. Nor was it ill observed by Archestratus, "that Greece could not bear another Alcibiades." When *Timon, famed for his misanthropy*, saw Alcibiades after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him as he did other men, but went up to him, and shaking him by the hand, thus addressed him, "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd."

them; in the mean time their shields were plain white." Alcibiades, in his device, referred to the beauty of his person and his martial prowess. "Mottos, too, were used." Capaneus, for instance, bore a naked man with a torch in his hand; the motto this, *I will burn the city*. See more in Æschylus's tragedy of the *Seven Chiefs*.

[1] This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades's mistress.

[2] The isle of Melos, one of the Cyclades, and a colony of Lacedæmon, was attempted by Alcibiades, the last year of the nineteenth Olympiad, and taken the year following. Thucydides, who has given us an account of this slaughter of the Melians, makes no mention of the decree. Probably he was willing to have the carnage thought the effect of a sudden transport in the soldiery, and not of a cruel and cool resolution of the people of Athens.

This occasioned several reflections: some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles,[1] the Athenians had a desire after Sicily, and when he had paid the last debt to nature, they attempted it; frequently, under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by little and little, but to send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty; for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Libya; and after these were gained, had designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who, under the sanction of age, related wonders concerning the intended expeditions, so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island and plans of Libya and Carthage. However, we are informed that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would turn to the advantage of Athens: the former, it should seem, influenced by some prophetic notices with which he was favoured by the genius who attended him, and the latter either by reasonings which led him to fear what was to come, or else by knowledge with which his art supplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himself mad, and taking a flaming torch, attempted to set his house on fire. Others say, that he made use of no such pretence, but burned down his house in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination;

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1 Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died the last year of the eighty seventh Olympiad, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years after this, the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which were to go from thence to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following they sent a still greater number; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former, but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whose speech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large,) having sent back the fleet, the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their prosperity, that they imagined themselves irresistible.

nation, for he would have declined the command if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments, and carrying all before him, the orator, Demosthenes, proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and everything was got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a festival that was celebrated at that time. It was the feast of Adonis;[1] the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

Added to this the mutilating and disfiguring almost all the statues of Mercury,[2] which happened in one night, a circumstance which alarmed even those who had long despised things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony, and they were supposed to have done it, in hopes that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to desist from the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no manner of ill presage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows, flushed with wine, and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event not only for a bad omen, but for the consequence of a plot which aimed at great matters, and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and very strictly examined every suspicious circumstance.

In the meantime the demagogue Androcles produced some Athenian slaves, and certain sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of defacing some other statues, and of mimicking the sacred mysteries in one of their drunken revels; on which occasion, they said, one Theodorus represented the herald, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the high priest; his other companions attending as persons initiated, and therefore called Mystæ. Such

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[1] On the feast of Adonis all the cities put themselves in mourning; coffins were exposed at every door; the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession, with certain vessels filled with earth, in which they had raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these vessels were called *the gardens of Adonis*. After the ceremony was over, the *gardens* were thrown into the sea or some river. This festival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, as we learn from *Ezekiel* x 14. "*And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz*, that is Adonis.

[2] The Athenians had statues of Mercury, at the doors of their houses made of stones of a cubical form.

was the import of the deposition of Thessalus, the son of Cimon, who accused Alcibiades of impiety towards the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bitterest enemy, exasperating them still more, at first he was somewhat disconcerted; but when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers too, intended for the Sicilian expedition, were on his side, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans, consisting of 1000 men, declare that they were willing to cross the seas, and to run the risk of a foreign war for the sake of Alcibiades, but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again; then he recovered his spirits, and appeared to defend himself. It was now his enemies' turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him, would be favourable in their sentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they persuaded certain orators, who were not reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the most professed ones, to move it to the people, "That it was extremely absurd, that a general who was invested with a discretionary power, and a very important command, when the troops were collected, and the allies all ready to sail, should lose time, while they were *casting lots for judges, and filling the glasses with water, to measure out the time of his defence.* In the name of the gods let him sail, and when the war is concluded, be accountable to the laws, which will still be the same."

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift, in wanting to put off the trial, and observed, "That it would be an intolerable hardship to leave such accusations and calumnies behind him, and be sent out with so important a commission, while he was in suspense as to his own fate. That he ought to suffer death, if he could not clear himself of the charge; but if he could prove his innocence, justice required that he should be set free from all fear of false accusers, before they sent him against their enemies." But he could not obtain that favour. He was indeed ordered to set sail,[1] which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having nearly 140 galleys in his company, 5,100 heavy, armed soldiers, and about 1,300 archers, slingers, and others light-armed; with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias; but as Lamachus agreed with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana. This was all he performed, being soon sent for by the Athenians to take his trial. At first there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence, to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues, his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the mysteries, and alleging that both these crimes flowed from the same source,[2] a conspiracy to

[1] The second year of the eighty-first Olympiad, and seventeenth of the Peloponnesian war.

[2] They gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had persuaded the Argives to undertake something to their prejudice

change the government. All that were accused of being any ways concerned in it they committed to prison unheard, and they repented exceedingly that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon so heavy a charge. While this fury lasted, every relation, every friend and acquaintance of his, was very severely dealt with by the people.

Thucydides has omitted the names of the accusers, but others mention Dioclides and Teucer. So Phrynichus, the comic poet,

> Good Hermes, pray, beware a fall; nor break
> Thy marble nose, lest some false Dioclides
> Once more his shafts in fatal poison drench.
>
> Merc.—I will. Nor e'er again shall that informer,
> Teucer, that faithless stranger, boast from me Rewards for perjury.

Indeed, no clear or strong evidence was given by the informers. One of them being asked how he could distinguish the faces of those who disfigured the statues, answered, that he discerned them by the light of the moon, which was a plain falsity, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. All persons of understanding exclaimed against such baseness; but this detection did not in the least pacify the people; they went on with the same rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations, and committing all to prison whose names were given in.

Among those that were then imprisoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the historian reckons among the descendants of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favourer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the *Hermæ*, was, that the great statue of Mercury, which was placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe called the Ægeis, was almost the only one among the most remarkable, which was left entire. Therefore, to this day it is called the *Hermes* of Andocides, and that title universally prevails, though the inscription does not agree with it.

It happened that among those who were imprisoned on the same account, Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one Timæus, a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts, and a daring spirit. He advised Andocides to accuse himself and a few more; because the decree promised impunity to any one that would confess and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by such of them as were persons of distinction. He represented that it was better to save his life by a falsity, than to suffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime; and that with respect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few persons of dubious character, in order to rescue many good men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by these arguments of Timæus; and informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree; but all the rest whom he named were capitally punished, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his depositions, he accused even his own servants.

However, the fury of the people was not so satisfied; but turning from the persons who had disfigured the Herma, as if it had reposed a while only to recover its strength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades. At last they sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to use violence, or to lay hold of his person, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them. For they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with all the ease in the world. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked,[1] the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Messina. There were persons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search that was made after him; but some person knowing him, and saying, "Will not you, then, trust your country?" he answered, "As to anything else I will trust her; but with my life I would not trust even my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

The information against him ran thus: "Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Lacias, accuseth Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scambonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by counterfeiting their mysteries, and shewing them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high-priest does while he shews the holy things, he called himself high-priest, as he did Polytion torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the ward of Phygea, herald: and the rest of his companions he called *persons initiated*,[2] *and brethren of the secret*; herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidæ,[3] the heralds and priests at Eleusis." As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him: which was denounced accordingly by all but Theno, the daughter of

1 He prudently embarked in a vessel of his own and not in the Salaminian galley.

2 The *Myste*, or persons initiated, were to remain a year under probation, during which time they were to go no further than the vestibule of the temple; after that term was expired they were called *epopte*, and admitted to all the mysteries, except such as were reserved for the priests only.

3 Eumolpus was the first that settled these mysteries of Ceres, for which reason his descendants had the care of them after him; and when his line failed, those who succeeded in the function were, notwithstanding, called Eumolpidæ.

Menon, priestess of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging, that *she was a priestess for prayer, not for execration.*

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos, having quitted Thurii, which no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to live there, under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them, whilst their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without farther hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to, was to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent; and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelea fortified, for this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth.[1]

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation of Sparta, and he was no less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other austerities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems that amongst his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manner of forms with more ease than the cameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt himself either to good or bad, and did not find anything which he attempted impracticable. Thus at Sparta he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury and ease. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements; and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart

1 Agis, king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and, according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, seized and fortified Decelea, which stood at an equal distance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, and by means of which the Athenians were now deprived of the profits of the silver mines, of the rents of their lands, and of the succours of their neighbours. But the greatest misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of this war to this time, was that which befell them this year in Sicily, where they not only lost the conquest they aimed at, together with the reputation they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals.

the form which he assumed; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say as the proverb does—*This is not the son of* Achilles, *but* Achilles *himself;* this man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus; but then if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim with Electra in the poem, *The same weak woman still!*[1] For while king Agis was employed in a distant expedition, he corrupted his wife Timæa so effectually, that she was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it; and when she was delivered of a son, though in public she called him Leotychidas, yet in her own house she whispered to her female friends and to her servants, that his true name was Alcibiades. To such a degree was the woman transported by her passion. And Alcibiades himself, indulging his vein of mirth, used to say, "His motive was not to injure the king, or to satisfy his appetite, but that his offspring might one day sit on the throne of Lacedæmon." Agis had information of these matters from several hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, because they agreed with the time. Terrified with an earthquake, he had quitted his wife's chamber, to which he returned not for the next ten months; at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his, and for this reason he was never suffered to inherit the crown of Sparta.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicum, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians, on this occasion, solicited for Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum; but at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt; and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his glory and prosperity; for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy; and had influence enough with the civil magistrates, to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this

[1] This is spoken of Hermione, in the Orestes of Euripides, upon her discovering the same vanity and solicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, that she had when she was young.

Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority: for himself a very subtle and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his conversation and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained; all hearts were touched. Even those that feared and envied him, were not insensible to pleasure in his company; and while they enjoyed it, their resentment was disarmed. Tissaphernes, in all other cases, savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address. For all his gardens, that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of its streams and the freshness of its meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of ALCIBIADES: and every one continued to give it that appellation.

Rejecting, therefore, the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them and their king Agis, in a disadvantageous light, to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to send his subsidies to Sparta with a sparing hand: that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tissaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem; which made him equally considerable with the Greek of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since: and Alcibiades on his side, was under some fear and concern, lest, if their republic were destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who hated him.

At that time, the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of 150 ships, which were said to be coming against them; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendship of Tissaphernes: not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not trust; but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and, taking the government into their own hands, by that means save their country.

All the officers readily embraced his proposal, except Phrynichus, who was of the ward of *Dirades*. He alone suspected, what was really the case, that it was a matter of very little consequence to Alcibiades whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens; that it was his business to get himself recalled by any means what-

ever, and that therefore, by his invectives against the people, he wanted only to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobility. Upon these reasons proceeded the opposition of Phrynichus: but seeing his opinion disregarded, and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave secret intelligence to Astyochus, the enemy's admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, advising him to beware of his designs, and to secure his person. But he knew not that while he was betraying, he was himself betrayed. For Astyochus, wanting to make his court to Tissaphernes, informed Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately sent proper persons to Samos with an accusation against Phrynichus; who, seeing no other resource, as everybody was against him, and expressed great indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater. For he sent to Astyochus to complain of his revealing his secret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treason of Phrynichus, however, did no injury to the Athenians, because it was again betrayed by Astyochus; for he laid the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynichus had the sagacity to foresee, and expect another accusation from Alcibiades, and, to be beforehand with him, he himself forewarned the Athenians, that the enemy would endeavour to surprise them, and therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, advising them to beware of Phrynichus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy; but they gave no credit to these despatches, supposing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abused that knowledge to the raising of such a calumny against Phrynichus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynichus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians, taking cognizance of the matter, after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for despatching a traitor.

The friend of Alcibiades who now had a superior interest at Samos, sent Pysander to Athens, to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called *the* 5000, but in fact were only 400[1] had got the power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades, and

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1 It was at first proposed, that only the dress of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in 5000 of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people. But when Pysander and his associates found the strength of their party, they carried it that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five *Proëdroi* should be elected: that these five should choose

carried on the war but slowly: partly distrusting the citizens, who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

Such of the commonalty as were at home were silent through fear, though much against their will; for a number of those who had openly opposed the 400 were put to death. But, when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for Pyræus. In the first place, however, they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted those in anything, who, from a fugitive and a banished man, had raised him to be commander-in-chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had sailed home, as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Ionia immediately, and have gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself would have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, using entreaties to some and force to others; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and *had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.*

Another great service performed by Alcibiades, was, his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the king of Persia, should either join the Athenians, or at least not act on the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise, he set out as expeditiously as possible, and prevailed upon Tissaphernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus, but to disappoint and deceive the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of hindering that fleet from coming to their aid; for they supposed he had instructed the Persians to leave the Greeks to destroy each other. And, indeed, it was obvious enough, that such a force added to either side, would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the sea.

After this the 400 were soon quashed,[1] the friends of Alcibiades

100: that each of the 100 should choose three; that the 400 thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the 5000 only when and on such matters as they thought fit.

[1] The same year that they were set up, which was the second of the ninety-second Olympiad. The reader must carefully distinguish this faction of four hundred from the senate of four hundred established by Solon, which these turned out, the few months they were in power.

readily assisting those who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return;[1] yet he thought it not best to return with empty hands, or without having effected something worthy of note, but instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidus and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, had sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellespont, to find out the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter; and fortunately enough he arrived with his 18 ships at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets, having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning until night, one side having the advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left.

On the appearance of his squadron, both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming; for the Spartans were encouraged and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous impression put them to flight, and following them close, he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killing such of the men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming: though Pharnabazus succoured them all he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion was, that the Athenians, having taken 30 of the enemy's ships, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success, Alcibiades, ambitious to show himself as soon as possible to Tissaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected; for Tissaphernes, who for sometime had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehensive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest, and confined him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers and fled to Clazomenæ: and by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From thence he passed to the place where the Athenians were stationed, and being informed that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land—nay, even to fight with stone walls if that should be required, in order to come at their enemies; for if the victory were not complete and universal,

1 Thucydides does not speak of this arrival of Alcibiades, but probably he did not live to have a clear account of this section, for he died this year. Xenophon, who continued his history, mentions it.

they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces and sailed to Proconesus, where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not discover that he was coming against them. A great and sudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations. For not only the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Lest, therefore, the enemy should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and save themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail and keep out of sight, while he shewed himself with 40 ships only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its effect, for despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor and engaged; but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror and fled. Upon that Alcibiades, with 20 of his best ships breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and having made a descent, pursued those that fled from the ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance and was slain, but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were almost all cut off, they not only secured the Hellespont, but entirely cleared the sea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter also was intercepted, which, in the laconic style, was to give the *Ephori* an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is slain. Our soldiers are starving; and we know not what step to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades's men were so elated, and took so much upon them because they had always been victorious, that they would not vouchsafe even to mix with other troops that had been sometimes beaten. It happened not long before, that Thrasyllus having miscarried in his attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brass in reproach of the Athenians.[1] The soldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdaining to join the others either in the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon after, when Pharnabazus with a strong body of horse and foot attacked the forces of Thrasyllus, who were ravaging the

[1] Trophies before had been of wood, but the Ephesians erected this of brass, to perpetuate the infamy of the Athenians: and it was this new and mortifying circumstance with which the soldiers of Alcibiades reproached those of Thrasyllus. Diodor. lib. xiii.

country about Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their assistance, routed the enemy, and together with Thrasyllus, pursued them until night. Then he admitted Thrasyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and satisfaction they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus without the least opposition. The priest and priestess he made prisoners among the rest, but soon dismissed them without ransom. From thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn and sent it all to the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and sent a herald before him to summon them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards he returned to the siege of Chalcedon, and inclosed it with a wall which reached from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced to raise the siege, and Hippocrates the governor, sallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army so as to engage them both at once, and he defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himself to flight, and Hippocrates being killed, together with the greatest part of his troops. This done, he sallied into the Hellespont to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage he took Selybria; but in the action unnecessarily exposed himself to great danger. The persons who promised to surrender the town to him, agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch, but they were obliged to do it before the time for fear of some one that was in the secret who suddenly altered his mind. The torch therefore being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about 30 men with him and ran to the walls, having ordered the rest to follow as fast as possible. The gate was opened to him, and 20 of the conspirators, lightly armed, joining his small company, he advanced with great spirit, but soon perceived the Selybrians with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to stand and fight promised no sort of success; and he who to that hour had never been defeated, did not choose to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command silence, and proclamation to be made that *the* Selybrians *should not*, under the pain of the Republic's high displeasure, *take up arms against* the Athenians. Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a supposition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to honourable terms. Whilst they were talking together of this order, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity to plunder the town. These last came down in great numbers to serve under him as volunteers from a particular attachment to his person; but on this occasion he

sent them all out of the town; and upon the submission of the Selybrians, he saved them from being pillaged, demanding only a sum of money and leaving a garrison in the place.

Meantime the other generals who carried on the siege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on these conditions—namely, that a sum of money should be paid them by Pharnabazus; that the Chalcedonians should return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens; and that no injury should be done to the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambassadors should be conducted safe to the king. Upon the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus desired that he too would swear to the performance of the articles, but Alcibiades insisted that Pharnabazus should swear first. When the treaty was reciprocally confirmed with an oath, Alcibiades went against Byzantium, which had revolted, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he was thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and some others secretly promised to deliver up the place on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon he caused it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in the day-time he set sail with his whole fleet; but returning at night, he himself disembarked with the land-forces, and posting them under the walls, he commanded them not to make the least noise. At the same time the ships made for the harbour, and the crews pressing in with loud shouts and great tumult, astonished the Byzantines, who expected no such matter. Thus an opportunity was given to those within the walls who favoured the Athenians, to receive them in great security, while everybody's attention was engaged upon the harbour and the ships.

The affair passed not, however, without blows. For the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Megarensians who were at Byzantium, having driven the ships' crews back to their vessels, and perceiving that the Athenian land-forces were got into the town, charged them too with great vigour. The dispute was sharp and the shock great, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these generals commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About 300 of the enemy who survived, were taken prisoners. Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death or banished, for such were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens should be safe in their persons and their goods.

Hence it was, that when Anaxilaus was tried at Lacedæmon for treason, he made a defence which reflected no disgrace upon his past behaviour; for he told them, "That not being a Lacedæmonian but a Byzantine, and seeing not Lacedæmon but Byzantium in danger, its communication with those that might have relieved it stopped; and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians eating up the provisions that were left, while the Byzantines with their wives and families were starving, he had not betrayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it from calamity and war; herein imitating the worthiest men among the Lacedæmonians, who had no other rule of justice and honour, but by all possible means to serve their country."

The Lacedæmonians were so much pleased with his speech, that they acquitted him and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades by this time, desirous to see his native country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many shields and other spoils of the enemy; a great number of ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed being carried in triumph, for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added by Duris the Samian, who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games; that Callipides the tragedian, attired in his buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars; and that the admiral galley entered the harbour with a purple sail, as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to such a frolic; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable that at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians in that manner. So far from it, that he approached the shore with some fear and caution; nor did he venture to disembark until as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin Euryptolemus, with many others of his friends and relations coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him, did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him crowned him with garlands; while those who could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young. Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes with the sense of their present success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if they had left the direction of affairs and the command of the forces to Alcibiades; since now, having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore its maritime power, but to render it victorious everywhere by land.

The act for recalling him from banishment had been passed at the motion of Critias, the son of Callæschrus,[1] as appears from his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of his service:

> If you no more in hapless exile mourn, The praise is mine——

[1] This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and the same that he introduces in his Dialogues. Though now the friend of Alcibiades, yet as the lust of power destroys all ties, when one of the thirty tyrants, he became his bitter enemy, and sending to Lysander, assured him, that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta safe, until Alcibiades was destroyed. Critias was afterwards slain by Thrasybulus, when he delivered Athens from that tyranny.

The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune and the influence of some envious demon. He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces both by sea and land. They likewise made a decree, that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds should take off the execrations which they had pronounced against him by order of the people. Whilst the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus the high priest, said, "For his part he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth."

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous. For on that very day was kept the *plynteria*,[1] or purifying of the goddess Minerva. It was May 25, when the praxiergidæ perform those ceremonies which are not to be revealed, disrobing the image and covering it up. Hence it is that the Athenians, of all days, reckon this the most unlucky, and take the most care not to do business upon it. And it seemed that the goddess did not receive him graciously, but rather with aversion, since she hid her face from him. Notwithstanding all this, everything succeeded according to his wish; 300 galleys were manned and ready to put to sea again, but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the mysteries.[2] For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decceiea, which commanded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with its usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea; the sacrifices, the sacred dances, and other ceremonies which had been performed on the way, called holy, while the image of Bacchus was carried in procession, being on that account necessarily omitted. Alcibiades therefore, judged it would be an act conducive to the honour of the gods, and to his reputation with men, to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army, and guarding it against the enemy. By that means, either king Agis would be humbled if he suffered it to pass unmolested, or if he attacked the convoy, Alcibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cause of piety and religion, for the most venerable of its mysteries in the sight of his country, and all his fellow-citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated his design

1 On that day when the statue of Minerva was washed, the temples were encompassed with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary on all inauspicious days. They carried dried figs in procession, because that was the first fruit which was eaten after acorns.

2 The festival of Ceres and Proserpine continued nine days. On the sixth they carried in procession to Eleusis the statue of Bacchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres.

to the *Eumolpidæ* and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon the eminences, and set out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. Next he took the priests, the persons initiated, and those who had the charge of initiating others, and covering them with his forces, led them on in great order and profound silence, exhibiting in that march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared he had performed not only the office of a general but of a high priest: not a man of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in great safety, which both exalted him in his own thoughts, and gave the soldiery such an opinion of him, that they considered themselves as invincible while under his command. And he gained such an influence over the mean and indigent part of the people, that they were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person, and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state, for then he might direct affairs and proceed to action without fear of groundless impeachments.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to embark as soon as possible; and the more to expedite the matter, they ordered among other things, that he should have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to sea, therefore, with a fleet of 100 ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted them. But yet he did not attack the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge which they afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades.[1] For his continual successes had procured such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability; they thought nothing too hard for him when he pleased to exert himself. They hoped also to hear that Chios was taken and all Iona reduced, and grew impatient when everything was not despatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that having to carry on the war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of leaving his camp, to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three *oboli* a-day

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[1] It was not altogether the universality of his success that rendered Alcibiades suspected, when he came short of public expectation. The duplicity of his character is obvious from the whole account of his life. He paid not the least regard to veracity in political matters; and it is not to be wondered if such principles made him continually obnoxious to the suspicions of the people.

to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus,[1] who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of those orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus where the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships, insulted them in the most insufferable manner both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him, but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon this disagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet, to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in the army, Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, being the most determined, quitted the camp and went to Athens to impeach him. To incense the people against him, he declared in full assembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the means of losing their ships, by his insolent and imprudent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of everything to persons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes; whilst he was securely traversing the provinces to raise money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himself to his pleasures with the courtezans of Ionia and Abydos; and this at a time when the enemy was stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him that he had built a castle in Thrace, near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not, or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to show their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces. (XENOPH. lib. i).

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it, than, consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army. And having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty he made raised him great sums; and at the same time he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the new-made generals, being now at Ægos Potamos,[2] with all the ships which the

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1 This was he who had caught the quail for him.

2 Plutarch passes over almost three years; namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponnesian war; the twenty-sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginusæ, and put six of the ten generals to death, upon a slight accusation of their colleague Theramenes; and almost the whole twenty seven, towards the end of which the Athenians sailed to Ægos Potamos, where they received the blow that is spoken of in this place.

Athenians had left, used to stand out early every morning and offer battle to Lysander, whose station was at Lampascus, and then to return and pass the day in a disorderly and careless manner, as if they despised their adversary. This seemed to Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, a matter not to be passed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals,[1] "He thought their stations by no means safe in a place where there was neither town nor harbour; that it was very inconvenient to have their provisions and stores from so distant a place as Sestos; and extremely dangerous to let their seamen go ashore, and wander about at their pleasure; whilst a fleet was observing them, which was under the orders of one man, and the strictest discipline imaginable. He, therefore, advised them to remove their station to Sestos."

The generals, however, gave no attention to what he said; and Tydeus was even so insolent as to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, suspecting that there was some treachery in the case, retired, telling his acquaintance, who conducted him out of the camp, that if he had not been insulted in such an insupportable manner by the generals, he would in a few days have obliged the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to come to an action at sea, or else to quit their ships. This to some appeared a vain boast; but to others it seemed not at all improbable, since he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and harass the Lacedæmonian camp.[2]

The event soon shewed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians committed. For Lysander falling upon them, when they least expected it, eight galleys only escaped,[3] along with Conon; the rest, not much short of 200, were taken and carried away, together with 3000 prisoners, who were afterwards put to death. And within a short time after Lysander took Athens itself, burned the shipping, and demolished the long walls.

Alcibiades, alarmed at this success of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treasure to be sent, and took large sums with him, but still left more behind in the castle where he had resided. In Bithynia he once more lost great part of his substance, being stripped by the Thracians there: which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection. He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage; for he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to pro-

[1] The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy, were sometimes called generals, sometimes admirals, because they commonly commanded both by sea and land.

[2] When a fleet remained some time at one particular station, there was generally a body of land forces and part of the mariners too, encamped upon the shore.

[3] There was a ninth ship, called Paralus, which escaped and carried the news of their defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus.

cure him a safe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court, and receiving marks of respect.

It was a grief to the Athenians to be deprived of their power and dominion, but when Lysander robbed them also of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of 30 chiefs, they were still more miserably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the measures which would have saved them, and which they had neglected to make use of; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, and looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of those errors. They had cast him off without any offence of his; their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant, in losing a few ships, and their own conduct had been still worse, in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all its generals. Yet amidst their present misery their was one slight glimpse of hope, that while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he who before was not content to lead an inactive, though peaceable, life in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, sit still and see the insolence of the Lacedæmonians, and the madness of the 30 tyrants, without endeavouring at some remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those 30 chiefs themselves were so solicitous to inquire after Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At last Critias represented to Lysander that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy were absolutely destroyed. And though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a kind of government. Lysander, however, could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta,[1] to get Alcibiades despatched; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity and enterprising spirit, or whether it was done in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order in execution; and he appointed his brother Magacus, and his uncle Susamithres, to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his mistress's habit,[2] and that as she held him in her arms, she dressed his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others say, he dreamed that Magacus cut off his head and burned his body; and we are told that it was but a little before his death that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those that were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got

1 The *Scytale* was sent to him.

2 Alcibiades had dreamed that Timandra, his mistress, had attired him in her own habit.

together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it; then having wrapped his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he sallied through the fire, and got safe out before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand, but standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra wrapped the body in her own robes,[1] and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Timandra is said to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyccara, a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades's death, yet differ about the cause. They tell us that catastrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lysander, or the Lacedæmonians; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family in that country, and keeping her in his house, her brothers, incensed at the injury, set fire in the night to the house in which he lived, and upon his breaking through the flames, killed him in the manner we have related.[2]

ARTAXERXES.

THE first Artaxerxes, who of all the Persian kings was most distinguished for his moderation and greatness of mind, was surnamed *Longimanus*, because his right hand was longer than his left. He was the son of Xerxes. The second Artaxerxes, surnamed *Memnon*,[3] whose life we are going to write, was son to the daughter of the first. For Darius, by his wife Parysatis, had four sons: Artaxerxes the eldest, Cyrus the second, and Ostanes and Oxathres the two younger. Cyrus was called after the ancient king of that name, as he is said to have been after the sun; for the Persians call the sun *Cyrus*. Artaxerxes at first was named Arsicas, or Arsaces, though Dinon asserts that his original name was Oartes, or

[1] She buried him in a town called Melissa; and we learn from Athenæus (in *Deipnosoph.*) that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of Persian marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull to be sacrificed to him annually.

[2] Ephorus the historian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xiv.) gives an account of his death, quite different from those recited by Plutarch. He says, that Alcibiades having discovered the design of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus of it, and desired that he might carry the news to the king; but Pharnabazus envying him that honour, sent a confidant of his own, and took all the merit to himself. Alcibiades suspecting the matter, went to Pagalagonia, and sought to procure from the governor letters of credence to the king; which Pharnabazus understanding, hired people to murder him. He was slain in the fortieth year of his age.

[3] So called on account of his extraordinary memory.

Oarses. But though Ctesias has filled his books with a number of incredible and extravagant fables, it is not probable that he should be ignorant of the name of a king at whose court he lived, in quality of physician to him, his wife, his mother, and his children.

Cyrus from his infancy was of a violent and impetuous temper: but Artaxerxes had a native mildness, something gentle and moderate in his whole disposition. The latter married a beautiful and virtuous lady, by order of his parents, and he kept her when they wanted him to put her away. For the king having put her brother to death,[1] designed that she should share his fate; but Arsicas applied to his mother with many tears and entreaties, and with much difficulty prevailed upon her not only to spare her life, but to excuse him from divorcing her. Yet his mother had the greater affection for Cyrus, and was desirous of raising him to the throne; therefore, when he was called from his residence on the coast, in the sickness of Darius, he returned full of hopes that the queen's interest had established him successor. Parysatis had, indeed, a specious pretence, which the ancient Xerxes had made use of at the suggestion of Demaratus, that she had brought Darius his son Arsicas when he was in a private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail. Darius appointed his eldest son his successor, on which occasion his name was changed to Artaxerxes. Cyrus had the government of Lydia, and was to be commander-in-chief on the coast.

Soon after the death of Darius, the king, his successor, went to Pasargadæ in order to be consecrated according to custom, by the priests of Persia. In that city there is the temple of a goddess who has the affairs of war under her patronage, and therefore may be supposed to be Minerva. The prince to be consecrated must enter that temple, put off his own robe there, and take that which was worn by the Great Cyrus before he was king. He must eat a cake of figs, chew some turpentine, and drink a cup of acidulated milk.

1 Teritouchmes, the brother of Statira, had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, incest, and murder; which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in them. Statira was daughter of Hydarnes, governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, then called Arsaces, was charmed with her beauty, and married her. At the same time Teritouchmes, her brother, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister to Arsaces: by reason of which marriage he had interest enough, on his father's demise, to get himself appointed to his government. But in the mean time he conceived a passion for his own sister Roxana, no ways inferior in beauty to Statira; and, that he might enjoy her without constraint, resolved to despatch his wife Hamestris, and light up the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. Darius being apprised of his design, engaged Udiastres, an intimate friend of Teritouchmes, to kill him, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Upon this some commotions were raised by the son of Teritouchmes; but the king's forces having the superiority, all the family of Hydarnes were apprehended, and delivered to Parysatis, that she might execute her revenge upon them for the injury done, or intended, to her daughter. That cruel princess put them all to death, except Statira, whom she spared, at the earnest entreaties of her husband Arsaces, contrary to the opinion of Darius. But Arsaces was no sooner settled upon the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to leave Udiastres to her correction; and she put him to a death too cruel to be described. Parisatas, in return, poisoned the son of Teritouchmes; and, not long after, Statira herself. Ctes. in Pers.

Whether there are any other ceremonies is unknown, except to the persons concerned. As Artaxerxes was on the point of going to be consecrated, Tissaphernes brought to him a priest, who had been chief inspector of Cyrus's education in his infancy, and had instructed him in the learning of the Magi, and therefore might be supposed to be as much concerned as any man in Persia at his pupil not being appointed king. For that reason his accusation against Cyrus could not but gain credit. He accused him of a design to lie in wait for the king in the temple, and after he had put off his garment, to fall upon him and destroy him. Some affirm that Cyrus was immediately seized upon this information; others, that he got into the temple and concealed himself there, but was pointed out by the priest, in consequence of which he was to be put to death; but his mother at that moment took him in her arms, bound the tresses of her hair about him, held his neck to her own, and by her tears and entreaties prevailed to have him pardoned, and remanded to the sea-coast. Nevertheless, he was far from being satisfied with his government. Instead of thinking of his brother's favour with gratitude, he remembered only the indignity of chains; and in his resentment aspired more than ever after the sovereignty.

Some, indeed, say, that he thought the allowance for his table insufficient, and therefore revolted from his king. But this is a foolish pretext; for if he had no other resource, his mother would have supplied him with whatever he wanted out of her revenues. Besides, there needs no greater proof of his riches than the number of foreign troops that he entertained in his service, which were kept for him in various parts by his friends and retainers; for, the better to conceal his preparations, he did not keep his forces in a body, but had his emissaries in different places, who enlisted foreigners on various pretences. Meanwhile his mother, who lived at court, made it her business to remove the king's suspicions, and Cyrus himself always wrote in a lenient style: sometimes begging a candid interpretation, and sometimes recriminating upon Tissaphernes, as if his contention had been solely with that grandee. Add to this, that the king had a dilatory turn of mind which was natural to him, and which many took for moderation. At first, indeed, he seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all that addressed him, and distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand. He took care that punishments should never be embittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received favours from him, and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not anything, however trifling, brought him by way of a present, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one Omisus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he said, "By the light of Mithra, this man, if he were made governor of a small city, would soon make it a great one." When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having

nothing else to give him, ran to the river and brought him some water in his hands. Artaxerxes was so much pleased that he sent the man a gold cup and 1000 darics. When Euclides, the Lacedæmonian, said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this answer—"You may say what you please to the king, but the king would have you to know that he cannot only say, but do." One day as he was hunting, Tiribazus showed him a rent in his robe, upon which the king said, "What shall I do with it?" "Put on another and give that to me," said Tiribazus. "It shall be so," said the king. "I give it thee, but I charge thee not to wear it." Tiribazus, who, though not a bad man, was giddy and vain, disregarded the restriction, soon put on the robe, and at the same time tricked himself out with some golden ornaments fit only for queens. The court expressed great indignation, because it was a thing contrary to their laws and customs; but the king only laughed, and said to him, "I allow thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe as a madman."

None had been admitted to the king of Persia's table but his mother and his wife: the *former of which sat above him, and the latter below him:* Artaxerxes, nevertheless, did that honour to Osthand Oxathres, two of his younger brothers. But what afforded the Persians the most pleasing spectacle was the queen Statira always riding in her chariot with the curtains open, and admitting the women of the country to approach and salute her. These things made his administration popular. Yet there were some turbulent and factious men, who represented that the affairs of Persia required a king of such a magnificent spirit, so able a warrior, and so generous a master as Cyrus was; and that the dignity of so great an empire could not be supported without a prince of high thoughts and noble ambition. It was not, therefore, without a confidence in some of the Persians, as well as in the maritime provinces, that Cyrus undertook the war.

He wrote also to the Lacedæmonians for assistance, promising that to the foot he would give horses, and to the horsemen chariots; that on those who had farms he would bestow villages, and on those who had villages, cities. As for their pay, he assured them it should not *be counted but measured out to them.* At the same time he spoke in very high terms of himself, telling them he had a greater and more princely heart than his brother; that he was the better philosopher, being instructed in the doctrines of the Magi, and that *he could drink and bear more wine than his brother.* Artaxerxes, he said, was so timorous and effeminate a man that he could not sit a horse in hunting, nor a chariot in time of war. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, sent the scytale to Clearchus, with orders to serve Cyrus in everything he demanded.[1]

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1 They took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him in what they had done. XENOPH. de it. Cyri. l. i.

Cyrus began his march against the king with an army of 100,000 barbarians, and almost 13,000 Greek mercenaries.[1] He found one pretence after another for having such an armament on foot, but his real design did not remain long undiscovered. For Tissaphernes went in person to inform the king of them.

This news put the court in great disorder. Parysatis was censured as the principal cause of this war, and her friends were suspected of a private intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, in her distress about the war, gave Parysatis the most trouble. "Where is now," she cried, "that faith which you pledged? Where your intercessions by which you saved the man that was conspiring against his brother? Have they not brought war and all its calamities upon us?" These expostulations fixed in the heart of Parysatis, who was naturally vindictive and barbarous in her resentment and revenge, such a hatred of Statira that she contrived to take her off. Dinon writes, that this cruel purpose was put in execution during the war; but Ctesias assures us it was after it. And it is not probable that he, who was an eye-witness to the transactions of that court, could either be ignorant of the time when the assassination took place, or could have any reason to misrepresent the date of it; though he often deviates into fictitious tales, and loves to give us invention instead of truth.

While Cyrus was upon his march, he had accounts brought him that the king did not design to try the fortune of the field by giving battle immediately, but to wait in Persia till his forces were assembled there from all parts of his kingdom. And though he had drawn a trench across the plain ten fathoms wide, as many deep,[2] and 400 furlongs in length, yet he suffered Cyrus to pass him, and to march almost to Babylon.[3] Tiribazus, we are told, was the first who ventured to remonstrate with the king, that he ought not any longer to avoid an action nor to abandon Media, Babylon, and even Susa to the enemy, and hide himself in Persia, since he had an army infinitely greater than theirs, and ten thousand Satrapæ and other officers, all of them superior to those of Cyrus, both in courage and conduct.

Upon this he took a resolution to come to action as soon as possible. His sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men, well prepared and accoutred, extremely surprised the rebels, who, through the confidence they had in themselves, and contempt of their enemy, were marching in great confusion, and even without their arms. So that it was with great difficulty that

1 Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœotians were under Proxenes, a Theban; and the Thessalians under Menon. The other nations were commanded by Persian generals, of whom Ariæus was the chief. The fleet consisted of 35 ships, under Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian; and 25 commanded by Tamos, an Egyptian, who was admiral of the whole fleet. On this occasion *Proxenus presented Xenophon to Cyrus*, who gave him a commission amongst the Greek mercenaries.

2 Xenophon says, this trench was only 5 fathoms wide, and 3 deep.

3 There was a passage 20 feet wide left between the trench and the Euphrates and Artaxerxes neglected to defend it.

Cyrus reduced them to any order; and he could not do it at last without much noise and tumult. As the king advanced in silence, and at a slow pace, the good discipline of his troops afforded an astonishing spectacle to the Greeks, who expected amongst such a multitude nothing but disorderly shouts and motions, and every other instance of distraction and confusion. He showed his judgment, too, in placing the strongest of his armed chariots before that part of his phalanx which was opposite to the Greeks, that by the impetuosity of their motion they might break the enemy's ranks before they came to close combat.

Many historians have described this battle; but Xenophon has done it with such life and energy, that we do not read an account of it—we see it—and feel all the danger. It would be very absurd, therefore, to attempt anything after him, except the mentioning some material circumstances which he has omitted.

The place where the battle was fought is called Cunaxa, and is 500 furlongs from Babylon. A little before the action, Clearchus advised Cyrus to post himself behind the Lacedæmonians, and not risk his person; upon which he is reported to have said, "What advice is this, Clearchus? Would you have me, at the very time I am aiming at a crown, to shew myself unworthy of one?" Cyrus, indeed, committed an error in rushing into the midst of the greatest danger without care or caution; but Clearchus was guilty of another as great, if not greater, in not consenting to place his Greeks opposite to the king, and in getting the river on his right to prevent his being surrounded. For if safety was his principal object, and he was by all means to avoid loss, he ought to have staid at home. But to carry his arms 10,000 furlongs from the sea, without necessity or constraint, and solely with a view to place Cyrus on the throne of Persia, and then not to be solicitous for a post where he might best defend his prince whose pay he received, but for one in which he might act most at ease and in the greatest safety, was to behave like a man who, on the sight of present danger, abandons the whole enterprise, and forgets the purpose of his expedition. For it appears, from the course of the action, that if the Greeks had charged those that were posted about the king's person, they would not have stood the shock; and after Artaxerxes had been slain, or put to flight, the conqueror must have gained the crown without further interruption. Therefore, the ruin of Cyrus's affairs and his death is much rather to be ascribed to the caution of Clearchus, than to his own rashness; for, if the king himself had been to choose a post for the Greeks, where they might do him the least prejudice, he could not have pitched upon a better than that which was most remote from himself and the troops about him. At the distance he was from Clearchus, he knew not of the defeat of that part of his army which was near the river, and Cyrus was cut off before he could avail himself of the advantages gained by the Greeks. Cyrus, indeed, was sensible what disposition would have been of most service to him, and for that reason ordered Clearchus to charge in the centre; but Clearchus ruined all, notwithstanding his assurances of doing everything for

the best: for the Greeks beat the barbarians with ease, and pursued them a considerable way.

In the meantime, Cyrus being mounted on Pasacas, a horse of great spirit, but at the same time headstrong and unruly, fell in, as Ctesias tells us, with Artagerses, general of the Caducians, who met him upon the gallop, and called out to him in these terms: "Most unjust and most stupid of men, who disgracest the name of Cyrus, the most august of all names among the Persians: thou leadest these brave Greeks a vile way to plunder thy native country, and to destroy thy brother and thy king, who has many millions of servants that are better men than thou. Try if he has not, and here thou shalt lose thy head, before thou canst see the face of the king." So saying, he threw his javelin at him with all his force; but his cuirass was of such excellent temper that he was not wounded, though the violence of the blow shook him in his seat. Then as Artagerses was turning his horse, Cyrus aimed a stroke at him with his spear, and the point of it entered at his collar-bone, and pierced through his neck. That Artagerses fell by the hand of Cyrus, almost all historians agree. As to the death of Cyrus himself, Dinon tells us, that Cyrus, after he had slain Artagerses, charged the vanguard of Artaxerxes with great fury, wounded the king's horse and dismounted him. Tiribazus immediately mounted him on another horse, and said, "Sir, remember this day, for it deserves not to be forgotten." At the second attack, Cyrus spurred his horse against the king, and gave him a wound;[1] at the third, Artaxerxes in great indignation, said to those that were by, "It is better to die than to suffer all this." At the same time he advanced against Cyrus, who was rashly advancing to meet a shower of darts. The king wounded him with his javelin, and others did the same. Thus fell Cyrus, as some say, by the blow which the king gave him, but, according to others, it was a Carian soldier who despatched him, and who afterwards, for his exploit, had the honour of carrying a golden cock at the head of the army, on the point of his spear. For *the Persians called the Carians cocks, on account of the crests with which they adorned their helmets.*

Ctesias says that when Cyrus had slain Artagerses, he pushed his horse up towards the king, and the king advanced against him; both in silence. Ariaeus, one of the friends of Cyrus, first aimed a blow at the king, but did not wound him. Then the king threw his javelin at Cyrus, but missed him; the weapon, however, did execution upon Tissaphernes,[2] a man of approved valour, and a faithful servant to Cyrus. It was now Cyrus's turn to drive his javelin; it pierced the king's cuirass, and going two fingers deep into his breast, brought him from his horse. This caused such disorder in his troops that they fled. But the king recovering, retired with a few of his men, among whom was Ctesias, to an eminence not far off, and

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[1] Or, *with the violence of the encounter, beat the king from his horse.*

[2] Tissaphernes is probably an erroneous reading. We know of no Tissaphernes but the grandee of that name, who was a faithful servant to Artaxerxes. One of the manuscripts gives us *Satiphernes.*

there reposed himself. In the meantime, Cyrus's horse, grown more furious by the action, carried him deep amongst the enemy; and as night was coming on, they did not know him, and his own men sought for him in vain. Elated, however, with victory, and naturally daring and impetuous, he kept on, crying out in the Persian language as he went, "Make way, ye slaves, make way." They humbled themselves, and opened their ranks; but his tiara happened to fall from his head, and a young Persian, named Mithridates, in passing, wounded him with his lance in the temple near his eye, without knowing who he was. Such a quantity of blood issued from the wound that he was seized with a giddiness, and fell senseless from his horse. The horse, having lost his rider, wandered about the field; the furniture too was fallen off, and the servant of Mithridates, who had given him the wound, took it up, all stained with blood.

At last Cyrus, with much difficulty, began to recover from his swoon; and a few eunuchs, who attended him, endeavoured to mount him on another horse, and so to carry him out of danger. But as he was too weak to sit on a horse, he thought it better to walk, and the eunuchs supported him as he went. His head was still heavy, and he tottered at every step; yet he imagined himself victorious, because he heard the fugitives calling Cyrus king, and imploring mercy.

At that instant some Caunians of mean condition, who performed the most servile offices for the royal army, happened to mix with the company of Cyrus as friends. They perceived, however, though not without difficulty, that the clothing of his people was red, whereas that given by the king their master was white. One of these then ventured to give Cyrus a stroke with his spear behind, without knowing him to be the prince. The weapon hit his ham, and cut the sinew; upon which he fell, and in falling dashed his wounded temple against a stone, and died upon the spot. Such is Ctesias's story of the death of Cyrus, which, like a blunt weapon, hacks and hews him a long time, and can hardly kill him at last.

Soon after Cyrus expired, an officer, who was called *the King's Eye*, passed that way. Artasyras (for that was his name), knowing the eunuchs who were mourning over the corpse, addressed him who appeared to be most faithful to his master, and said, "Pariscas, who is that whom thou art lamenting so much?" "O Artasyras," answered the eunuch, "see you not Prince Cyrus dead?" Artasyras was astonished at the event; however, he desired the eunuch to compose himself, and take care of the corpse; and then rode at full speed to Artaxerxes, who had given up all for lost, and was ready to faint, both with thirst and the anguish of his wound. In these circumstances the officer found him, and with a joyful accent hailed him in these words, "I have seen Cyrus dead." The king at first was impatient to see the dead body himself, and commanded Artasyras immediately to conduct him to it. But finding all the field full of terror and dismay, upon a report that the Greeks, victorious in their quarter, were pursuing the fugitives and putting all to the sword, he thought proper to send out a greater number to reconnoitre

the place which Artasyras had told him of. Thirty men went with flambeaux in their hands. Still the king was almost dying with thirst, and the eunuch Satibarzanes sought every place for water; for the field afforded none, and they were at a great distance from the camp. After much search, he found one of those poor Caunians had about two quarts of bad water in a mean bottle, and he took it and carried it to the king. After the king had drank it all up, the eunuch asked him, "If he did not find it a disagreeable beverage?" Upon which he swore by all the gods, "That he had never drank the most delicious wine, nor the lightest and clearest water, with so much pleasure. I wish only," continued he, "that I could find the man who gave it thee, that I might make him a recompence. In the meantime I entreat the gods to make him happy and rich."

While he was speaking, the 30 men whom he had sent out returned in great exultation, and confirmed the news of his unexpected good fortune. Now, likewise, numbers of his troops repaired to him again, and dismissing his fears, he descended from the eminence, with many torches carried before him. When he came to the dead body, according to *the law of the Persians, the right hand and the head were cut off;* and having ordered the head to be brought to him, he took it by the hair, which was long and thick, and showed it to the fugitives, and to such as were still doubtful of the fortune of the day. They were astonished at the sight, and prostrated themselves before him. Seventy thousand men soon assembled about him, and with them he returned to the camp. Ctesias tells us, he had led 400,000 men that day into the field; but Dinon and Xenophon make that number much greater. As to the number of the killed, Ctesias says, an account only of 9000 was brought to Artaxerxes, whereas there appeared to Ctesias himself to be no fewer than 20,000. Nothing can be a more palpable falsity than what Ctesias adds, that he was sent ambassador to the Greeks in conjunction with Phayllus, the Zacynthian, and some others: for Xenophon knew that Ctesias was at the Persian court; he mentions him in his works, and it is plain that he had met with his books. Therefore, if he had been joined in commission to settle such important affairs, he would not have passed him by unnoticed, but would have mentioned him with Phayllus. Ctesias, indeed, was a man of unbounded vanity, as well as strong attachment to Clearchus, and for that reason always leaves a corner in the story for himself, when he is dressing out the praises of Clearchus and the Lacedæmonians.

After the battle, the king sent great and valuable presents to the son of Artagerses, who was slain by Cyrus. He rewarded also Ctesias and others in a distinguished manner; and having found the Caunian who gave him the bottle of water, he raised him from indigence and obscurity, to riches and honours. There was something of an analogy between his punishments and the crime. One Arbaces, a Mede, in the battle deserted to Cyrus, and after that prince was killed, came back to his colours. As he perceived that the man had done it rather out of cowardice than any treasonable

design, all *the penalty he laid upon him was to carry about him a naked courtesan upon his shoulders a whole day in the market-place.* Another, besides deserting, had given it out that he had killed two of the enemy; and for his punishment he only ordered his tongue to be pierced through with three needles.

He supposed, and he was desirous of having it pass upon the world, that Cyrus fell by his hand. This induced him to send valuable presents to Mithridates, who gave him the first wound, and to instruct the messengers to say, "The king does you this honour because you found the furniture of Cyrus's horse and brought it to him." And when the Carian who gave Cyrus the stroke in his ham that caused his death, asked for his reward, he ordered those who gave it him to say, "The king bestows this upon you because you were the second person that brought him good tidings. For Artasyras was the first, and you the next that brought him an account of the death of Cyrus." Mithridates went away in silence, though not without concern; but the unhappy Carian could not conquer the common disease of vanity. Elated with what he thought his good fortune, and aspiring to things above his walk in life, he would not receive his reward for tidings, but angrily insisted, and called the gods and men to witness, that he, and no other man, killed Cyrus; and that it was not just to rob him of the glory.

The king was so much incensed at this that he ordered the man's head to be cut off. But his mother, Parysatis, being present, said, "Let not this villainous Carian go off so. Leave him to me, and he shall have the reward which his audacious tongue deserves." Accordingly the king gave him up to her, and she delivered him to the executioners, with orders to torture him for ten days, and then to tear out his eyes, and pour molten brass into his ears, till he expired.

Mithridates also came to a miserable end soon after, through his own folly. Being invited one evening to supper, where both the eunuchs of the king, and those of his mother, were present, he went in a robe embroidered with gold, which he had received from the king. During the entertainment, Parysatis's principal eunuch took occasion to say, "What a beautiful garment is this, Mithridates, which the king has given you! how handsome are those bracelets and that chain! how valuable your scimitar! He has certainly made you not only a great, but a happy man." Mithridates, who by this time was flushed with wine, made answer, "What are these things, Sparamixes? I deserve much greater marks of honour than these for the services I rendered the king that day." Then Sparamixes replied, with a smile, "I speak not in the least out of envy; but since, according to the Greek proverb, there is truth in wine, let me tell you my mind freely, and ask you what great matter it is to find a horse's furniture fallen off, and bring it to the king." This he said, not that he was ignorant of the real state of the case, but because he wanted to lay him open, and saw that the wine had made him talkative, and taken him off his guard, he studied to pique his vanity. Mithridates, no longer master of himself, said, "You may talk of what furniture and what trifles you please; but I tell you

plainly, it was by this hand that Cyrus was slain; for I did not, like Artagerses, throw my javelin in vain, but pierced his temples near the eye, and brought him to the ground; and of that wound he died." The rest of the company saw the dreadful fate that would befal Mithridates, and looked with dejected eyes upon the ground; but he who gave the entertainment said, "Let us now attend to our eating and drinking; and adoring the fortune of the king, let such matters alone as are too high for us."

Immediately after the company broke up, the eunuch told Parysatis what had been said, and she informed the king. Artaxerxes, like a person detected, and one who had lost a victory out of his hands, was enraged at this discovery; for he was desirous of making all the barbarians and Greeks believe that in the several encounters he both gave and received blows; and that though he was wounded himself, he killed his adversary. He therefore condemned Mithridates to the punishment of *the Boat*. The manner of it is this. They take two boats, which are made to fit each other, and extend the criminal in one of them in a supine posture. Then they turn the other upon it, so that the poor wretch's body is covered, and only the head and hands are out at one end, and the feet at the other. They give him victuals daily, and if he refuses to eat, they compel him by pricking him in the eyes. After he has eaten, they make him drink a mixture of honey and milk, which they pour into his mouth. They spread the same, too, over his face, and always turn him so as to have the sun full in his eyes; the consequence of which is, that his face is covered with swarms of flies. As all the necessary evacuations of a man who eats and drinks are within the boat, the filthiness and corruption engender a quantity of worms, which consume his flesh, and penetrate to his entrails. When they find that the man is dead, they take off the upper boat, and have the spectacle of a carcass whose flesh is eaten away, and of numberless vermin clinging to and gnawing the bowels. Mithridates, with much difficulty, found death, after he had been consumed in this manner for seventeen days.

There remained now no other mark for the vengeance of Parysatis but Mesabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who cut off Cyrus's head and hand. As he took care to give her no handle against him, she laid this scheme for his destruction. She was a woman of keen parts in all respects, and in particular she played well at dice. The king often played with her before the war, and being reconciled to her after it, took the same diversion with her. She was even the confidant of his pleasures, and scrupled not to assist in anything of gallantry.

Statira, indeed, was the object of her hatred, and she let her have a small share of the king's company; for she was determined to have the principal interest with him herself. One day, finding Artaxerxes wanted something to pass away the time, she challenged him to play for 1000 *darics*, and purposely managed her dice so ill that she lost. She paid the money immediately, but pretended to be much chagrined, and called on him to play again for an eunuch.

He consented to the proposal, and they agreed each of them to except five of their most faithful eunuchs; the winner was to have his choice out of the rest. On these conditions they played. The queen, who had the affair at heart, exerted all her skill, and being favoured besides by the dice, won the eunuch, and pitched upon Mesabates, who was not of the number of the excepted. He was immediately delivered to her, and before the king suspected anything of her intentions, she put him in the hands of the executioners, with orders to flay him alive, to fix his body on three stakes, and to stretch out his skin by itself. The king was highly incensed, and expressed his resentment in strong terms; but she only said in a laughing, ironical way, "This is pleasant indeed, that you must be so angry about an old useless eunuch, while I say not a word of my loss of 1000 *darics*." The king, though much concerned at the imposition, held his peace; but Statira, who on other occasions, openly censured the practice of the queen-mother, complained now of the injustice and cruelty, in sacrificing to Cyrus the eunuchs and other faithful servants of the king.

After Tissaphernes[1] had deceived Clearchus and the other Grecian officers, and, contrary to the treaty and his oaths, put them in chains, Ctesias tells us that Clearchus made interest with him for the recovery of a comb. When he had obtained it, it seems he was so much pleased with the use of it, that he took his ring from his finger and gave it Ctesias, that it might appear as a token of his regard for him to his friends and relations in Lacedæmon. The device was a dance of the *Caryatides*.[2] He adds, that whenever provisions were sent to Clearchus, his fellow-prisoners took most of them for themselves, and left him a very small share; but that he corrected this abuse by procuring a larger quantity to be sent to Clearchus, and separating the allowance of the others from his. All this was done with the consent, and by the favour of Parysatis. As he sent every day a gammon of bacon among the provisions, Clearchus suggested to him that he might easily conceal a small dagger in the fleshy part, and begged earnestly that he would do it, that his fate might not be left to the cruel disposition of Artaxerxes; but, through fear of the king's displeasure, he refused it. The king, however, at the request of his mother, promised upon oath not to put Clearchus to death; but afterwards he was persuaded by Statira to destroy all the prisoners except Menon. On this account he tells us Parysatis plotted against Statira, and resolved to take her off by poison; but it is a great absurdity in Ctesias to assign so disproportionate a cause. Would Parysatis, for the sake of

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1 Tissaphernes, by promises which he did not intend to keep, drew Clearchus to an interview in his tent. He went with four principal officers and 20 captains to wait on the Persian, who put Clearchus and the four officers under arrest, and ordered the 20 captains to be cut in pieces. Some time after the king commanded Clearchus, and all the four officers, except Menon, to be beheaded. XENOPH. de Cyri. l. ii.

2 Carya was a town in Laconia, where there was a temple of Diana. Indeed the whole town was dedicated to Diana and her nymphs. In the court before the temple stood a statue of *Diana Caryatis*, and the Spartan virgins kept a yearly festival on which they danced round it.

Clearchus, undertake so horrid and dangerous an enterprise as that of poisoning the king's lawful wife, by whom he had children, and an heir to his crown? It is clear enough that he tells this fabulous tale to do honour to the memory of Clearchus: for he adds, that the carcasses of the other officers were torn in pieces by dogs and birds; but that a storm of wind brought a great heap of sand, and provided a tomb for Clearchus. Around this heap there sprung up a number of palm trees, which soon grew into an admirable grove, and spread their protecting shade over the place, so that the king repented greatly of what he had done, believing that he had destroyed a man who was a favourite of the gods.

It was, therefore, only from the hatred and jealousy which Parysatis had entertained of Statira from the first, that she embarked in so cruel a design. She saw that her own power with the king depended only on his reverence for her as his mother; whereas that of Statira was founded in love, and confirmed by the greatest confidence in her fidelity. The point she had to carry was great, and she resolved to make one desperate effort. She had a faithful and favourite attendant, named Gigas, who as Dion tells us, assisted in the affair of the poison; but, according to Ctesias, she was only conscious of it, and that against her will. The former calls the person who provided the poison, Melantas; the latter, Belitaras.

These two princesses had, in appearance, forgot their old suspicions and animosities, and began to visit and eat at each other's table. But they did it with so much distrust and caution, as to make it a rule to eat of the same dish, and even of the same slices. There is a small bird in Persia which has no excrements, the intestines being only filled with fat, on which account it is supposed to live upon air and dew; the name of it is *rhyntaces*. Ctesias writes, that Parysatis divided one of these birds with a small knife that was poisoned on one side, and taking the wholesomer part herself, gave the other to Statira. Dion, however, affirms, that it was not Parysatis but Melantas who cut the bird in two, and presented the poisoned part to Statira. Be that as it may, she died in dreadful agonies and convulsions; and was not only sensible herself of the cause, but intimated her suspicions to the king, who knew too well the savage and implacable temper of his mother; he, therefore, immediately made an inquisition into the affair. He took her officers and servants that attended at her table, and put them to the torture. But she kept Gigis in her own apartment: and when the king demanded her, refused to give her up. At last Gigis begged of the queen-mother to let her go in the night to her own house; and the king being informed of it, ordered some of his guards to intercept her. Accordingly she was seized and condemned to die. The laws of Persia have provided this punishment for poisoners: their heads are placed on a broad stone, and then crushed with another, till nothing of the figure remains. In that manner was Gigis executed. As for Parysatis, the king did not reproach her with her crime, nor punish her any farther than by sending her to

Babylon (which was the place she desired to retire to,) and declaring that he would never visit that city while she lived. Such was the state of his domestic affairs.

He was no less solicitous to get the Greeks into his hands, who had followed Cyrus into Asia, than he had been to conquer Cyrus himself, and to keep the crown. But he could not succeed.[1] For though they had lost Cyrus their general, and their own officers, yet they forced their way, as it were, out of the very palace of Artaxerxes, and made it appear to all the world that the Persians and their king had nothing to value themselves upon but wealth, luxury, and women; and that the rest was mere parade and ostentation. This gave fresh spirits to the Greeks, and taught them to despise the barbarians. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, thought it would be a great dishonour, if they did not now deliver the Asiatic Greeks from servitude, and put an end to the insults of the Persians. Their first attempt was under the direction of Thimbro, and the next under that of Dercyllidas; but as those generals effected nothing of importance, the conduct of the war was given to Agesilaus. That prince immediately passed into Asia with his fleet, and soon distinguished himself by his vigorous operations; for he defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and brought over several cities.

By these losses Artaxerxes understood what was his best method of making war. He therefore sent Hermocrates, the Rhodian into Greece, with a great quantity of gold, having instructed him to corrupt with it the leading men amongst the states, and to stir up a Grecian war against Lacedæmon.

Hermocrates acquitted himself so well in his commission that the most considerable cities leagued against Sparta, and there were such commotions in Peloponnesus that the magistrates were forced to recall Agesilaus from Asia. On leaving that country he is reported to have said to his friends, "The king drives me out of Asia with 3000 archers." For the Persian money bore the impression of an archer.

Artaxerxes deprived the Lacedæmonians of the dominion of the sea, by means of Conon, the Athenian, who acted in conjunction with Pharnabazus. For Conon after he had lost the sea-fight at Ægos Potamos, took up his abode in Cyprus; not merely to provide for his own safety, but to wait for a change of affairs, as mariners wait for the turn of the tide. As he saw that his own plan wanted a respectable power to carry it into execution, and that

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[1] The Greeks were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous army flushed with victory; and had no way to return again into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemy's country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties, and, in spite of a powerful army which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles, through the provinces belonging to the Persians, and got safe to the Greek cities on the Euxine sea. Clearchus had the conduct of this march at first; but he being cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, Xenophon was chosen in his room; and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into Greece.

the Persian power required a person of ability to conduct it, he wrote the king an account of the measures he had concerted. The messenger was ordered to get the letter delivered into his hands by Zeno the Cretan, who danced in the revels, or by Polycritus the Mendæan, who was his physician; and in case of their absence, by Ctesias, another physician. The letter, we are told, was given to Ctesias, and he added to it this paragraph, "I desire you, sir, to send Ctesias to me, for he will be very serviceable in the business of the navy." But Ctesias affirms, that the king, without any kind of solicitation, put him upon this service.

After Artaxerxes had gained, by Conon and Pharnabazus, the battle of Cnidus, which stripped the Lacedæmonians of the empire of the sea, he drew almost all Greece into his interest; insomuch that the celebrated peace, called the Peace of Antalcidas, was entirely of his modelling. Antalcidas was a Spartan, the son of Leon, and so strongly attached to the king, that he prevailed with the Lacedæmonians to give up to him all the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands which are reckoned amongst its dependencies, to be held as his tributaries, in virtue of the peace; if we can call that a peace by which Greece was dishonoured and betrayed; which was indeed so vile a bargain that the most unsuccessful war could have terminated in nothing more inglorious.

Hence it was that Artaxerxes, though, according to Dinon's account, he always detested the other Spartans as the most impudent of men, yet expressed a great regard for Antalcidas, when he came to his court. One evening *he took a chaplet of flowers from his head, dipped it in the richest essences, and sent it from his table to Antalcidas. All the court was astonished at such a mark of favour.* But there seems to have been a propriety in making him so ridiculous a compliment,[1] and he was a fit man to wear such a crown, who could take off Leonidas and Callicratides in a dance before the Persians. Somebody happening to say in the hearing of Agesilaus, "Alas, for Greece! when the Lacedæmonians are turning Persians," he corrected him, and said, "No, the Medes are rather turning Lacedæmonians." But the wit of the expression did not remove the disgrace of the thing. They lost their superiority in Greece by the ill-fought battle of Leuctra, as they had lost their honour by the vile conditions of this peace.

So long as Sparta kept the lead, the king admitted Antalcidas to the privileges of hospitality, and called him his friend. But when, upon their defeat at Leuctra, the Spartans sent Agesilaus into Egypt to get a supply of money, and Antalcidas went upon the same business to the Persian court, Artaxerxes treated him with so much neglect and contempt, that between the ridicule he suffered from his enemies, and his fear of the resentment of the Ephori, he resolved, on his return, to starve himself to death. Ismenias the

[1] It was a compliment entirely out of character to a Lacedæmonian, who, as such, was supposed to value himself upon the simplicity of his manners, and on avoiding all approaches to luxury.

Theban, and Pelopidas, who had lately won the battle of Leuctra, went also to the court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas submitted to nothing unworthy of his country or character, but Ismenias being commanded to adore the king, purposely let his ring fall from his finger, and then, by stooping to take it up, appeared in a posture of adoration. Timagoras the Athenian, having given the king some secret intelligence in a letter which he sent by a secretary named Beluris, he was so much pleased, that he made him a present of 10,000 darics. The same Timagoras wanted a supply of cow's milk, on account of a languishing disorder, and Artaxerxes ordered 80 cows for his use, which were to follow him wherever he went. He likewise sent him a bed with the necessary coverlets, and Persian servants to make it, because he thought the Greeks not skilled in that art; and he ordered him to be carried to the sea-side in a litter, on account of his indisposition. To this we may add the allowance for his table when he was at court, which was so magnificent that Ostanes, the king's brother, one day said to him, "Timagoras, remember this table, for it is not so sumptuous for nothing." This was rather reproaching him with his treason than calling for his acknowledgments: and, indeed, Timagoras, on his return, was capitally condemned by the Athenians for taking bribes.

Artaxerxes, in some measure, atoned for the causes of sorrow he gave the Greeks, by doing one thing that afforded them great pleasure: he put Tissaphernes, their most implacable enemy, to death. This he did partly at the instigation of Parysatis, who added other charges to those alleged against him; for he did not long retain his anger, but was reconciled to his mother, and sent for her to court; because he saw she had understanding and spirit enough to assist in governing the kingdom, and there now remained no further cause of suspicions and uneasiness between them. From this time she made it a rule to please the king in all her measures, and not to oppose any of his inclinations, by which she gained an absolute ascendant over him. She perceived that he had a strong passion for one of his own daughters, named Atossa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it on his mother's account, and restrained it in public; though, according to some authors, he had already a private commerce with the princess. Parysatis no sooner suspected the intrigue, than she caressed her grand-daughter more than ever; and was continually praising to Artaxerxes both her beauty and her behaviour, in which she assured him there was something great and worthy of a crown. At last, she persuaded him to make her his wife, without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: "God," said she, "has made you a law to the Persians, and rule of right and wrong." Some historians, amongst whom is Heraclides of Cumæ, affirm, that Artaxerxes married not only Atossa, but another of his daughters, named Amestris. His affection for Atossa was so strong, that though she had a leprosy, which spread itself over her body, he was not disgusted at it; but he was daily imploring Juno for her, and grasping the dust of her

temple; for he paid his homage to no other goddess. At the same time, by his order, his great officers sent so many offerings to her shrine that the whole space between the palace and the temple, which was 16 furlongs, was filled with gold, silver, purple, and fine horses.

He sent Pharnabazus and Iphicrates to make war upon the Egyptians; but the expedition miscarried through the difference which happened between the generals he employed. After this he went in person against the Cadusians with 300,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. Their country is rough and uneven, and covered with perpetual fogs. As it produced no corn or fruits by cultivation, the inhabitants, a fierce and warlike race of men, live upon wild pears, apples, and other things of that kind. He, therefore, insensibly fell into great danger and distress; for his troops could find no provisions there, nor could they be supplied from any other place. They were forced to kill their beasts of burthen, and eat them; and those became so scarce that an ass's head was sold for 60 drachmas. The king's table itself was ill supplied; and there remained only a few horses, all the rest having been used for food.

In this extremity, Tiribazus, who often was in high favour on account of his valour, and often degraded for his levity, and who, at this very time, was in the greatest disgrace, saved the king and his whole army by the following stratagem. The Cadusians having two kings, each had his separate camp. Upon this Tiribazus formed his scheme; and, after he had communicated it to Artaxerxes, went himself to one of those princes, and sent his son to the other. Each imposed upon the king he applied to, by pretending that the other was going to send a private embassy to Artaxerxes, to negociate a separate alliance. "But if you are wise," said they, "you will be beforehand with your rival, and we will assist you in the whole affair." This argument had its effect; and each, persuaded that the other was undermining him out of envy, sent his ambassadors; the one with Tiribazus, and the other with his son. As some time passed before they returned, Artaxerxes began to suspect; and there were those who suggested that Tiribazus had some traitorous design. The king was extremely dejected, and repenting of the confidence he had reposed in him, gave ear to all the calumnies of his enemies. But at last Tiribazus arrived, as did also his son, with the Cadusian ambassadors, and peace was made with both parties; in consequence of which Tiribazus returned with the king in greater esteem and authority than ever. During this expedition, Artaxerxes shewed that timidity and effeminacy ought not to be ascribed, as they generally are, to the pomp and luxuries of life, but to a native meanness and a depraved judgment: for neither the gold, the purple, nor the jewels, which the king always wore, and which were worth no less than 12,000 talents, hindered him from bearing the same fatigues and hardships with the meanest soldier in his army. He took his quiver on his back, and his buckler upon his arm, and quitting his horse, would often march foremost up the most craggy and difficult

places; insomuch that others found their task much lighter when they saw the strength and alacrity with which he proceeded: for he marched above 200 furlongs a day.

At last he arrived at one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks of great extent and beauty, though the country around it was naked and barren. As the weather was exceedingly cold, he permitted his men to cut wood out of his own parks, without sparing either pine or cypress: and when the soldiers were loath to touch trees of such size and beauty, he took an axe in his own hand, and laid it to the finest tree amongst them. After which they cut them down without scruple, and having made a number of fires, passed the night with great satisfaction.

He found, however, on his arrival at his capital, that he had lost many brave men, and almost all his horses; and, imagining that he was despised for his losses, and the ill success of the expedition, he became suspicious of his grandees. Many of them he put to death in anger, and more out of fear: fear is the sanguinary principle a tyrant can act from; courage, on the contrary, is merciful, mild, and unsuspicious. Thus the most timorous animals are the hardest to be tamed; but the more generous, having less suspicion, because they have less fear, fly not the caresses and society of men.

Artaxerxes being now far advanced in years, observed his sons making parties for the crown amongst his friends and the rest of the nobility. The more equitable part of his leaving it to his eldest son Darius, as he had received it from his father in the same right. But his younger son Ochus, who was an active man, and of a violent spirit, had also a considerable interest among the grandees. Besides, he hoped to gain his father through Atossa; for he paid his court to her, and promised to make her the partner of his throne upon the death of Artaxerx Nay, it was said that he had already private familiarities with her. Artaxerxes, though he was ignorant of this circumstance, resolved to cut off the hopes of Ochus at once; lest, following the daring steps of his uncle Cyrus, he should involve the kingdom again in civil wars. He therefore declared Darius his successor, who was now 25[1] years old, and permitted him to wear the point of his turban *(Citaris)* erect, as a mark of royalty.

As it is customary in Persia for the heir to ask a favour of him that declared him such, which, if possible, is always granted, Darius asked for Aspasia, who had been the favourite mistress of Cyrus, and was now one of the king's concubines. She was a native of Phocea in Ionia, and her parents, who were above the condition of slaves, had given her a good education. One evening she was introduced to Cyrus at supper with the other women. They approached him without scruple, and received his jokes and caresses with pleasure: but Aspasia stood by in silence; and when Cyrus called her, she said, "Whoever lays hands upon me shall repent it." Upon which the company looked upon her as an

[1] In the printed text it is *fifty*.

unpolished creature; but Cyrus was pleased, and said, with a smile, to the person who brought the women, "Do not you see that of all you have provided, this only has generous and virtuous sentiments!" From this moment he attached himself to her, loved her most of all his concubines, and called her Aspasia *the wise*. When Cyrus fell in battle, she was taken amongst the plunder of his camp.

Artaxerxes was much concerned at his son's request. For the barbarians are so extremely jealous of their women, that capital punishment is inflicted, not only on the man who speaks to, or touches one of the king's concubines, but on him who approaches or passes their chariots on the road. And though, in compliance with the dictates of his passion, he had made Atossa his wife contrary to law, he kept 360 concubines, all women of the greatest beauty. However, when Darius demanded Aspasia, he declared her free, and said, "She might go with him if she pleased; but he would do no violence to her inclinations." Accordingly Aspasia was sent for, and, contrary to the king's expectation, made choice of Darius. He gave her up to him, indeed, because he was obliged to it by the law; but he soon took her away, and made her a priestess of Diana of Ecbatana, whom they called *Anitis*,[1] that she might pass the remainder of her life in chastity. This he thought no severe revenge upon his son, but a pleasant way of chastising his presumption. But Darius highly resented the affront; whether it was that the charms of Aspasia had made a deep impression upon him, or whether he thought himself insulted and ridiculed by this proceeding.

Tiribazus seeing how much he was offended, endeavoured to exasperate him still more. This he did from a fellow feeling; for he had suffered an injury much of the same kind. The king, having several daughters, promised to give Apama to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Osontes, and Amestris to Tiribazus. He kept his word with the two first, but deceived Tiribazus; for, instead of giving Amestris to him, he married her himself; promising at the same time that he should have his youngest daughter Atossa. But he became enamoured of her too, and married her. This treatment extremely incensed Tiribazus, who had, indeed, nothing steady in his disposition; but was wild and irregular. One while successful, and upon a footing with the greatest men in the court, another while unacceptable to the king, and sinking into disgrace; he bore no change of fortune with propriety. If he was in favour, his vanity was insupportable; if in disgrace, instead of being humble and quiet, he had recourse to violence and ferocity.

His conversing with the young prince was, therefore, adding flame to the fire. "What avails it," said he, "to have the point of your turban advanced, if you seek not to advance your authority? Nothing can be more absurd than your thinking yourself secure of

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[1] Pausanias says, there was a temple of Diana *Anaitis* in Lydia. But Justin tells us, that Artaxerxes made Aspasia one of the priestesses of the sun.

the succession, while your brother is privately forwarding his interest by means of the women, and your father is so very foolish and unsteady. He who could break one of the most sacred laws of the Persians, for the sake of an insignificant Grecian woman, is certainly not to be depended upon in more important engagements. The case is quite different between you and Ochus, as to the event of the competition: if Ochus does not obtain the crown, none will hinder him from living happily in a private station; but you, who have been declared king, must either reign or die." On this occasion was verified that observation of Sophocles:

- Swift in its march——Is evil counsel-

The road which leads us to what we desire is indeed smooth, and of an easy descent; and the desires of most men are vicious, because they have never known or tried the enjoyments of virtue. The lustre of such an imperial crown, and Darius's fear of his brother, furnished Tiribazus with other arguments; but the goddess of beauty contributed her share towards persuading him, by putting him in mind of the loss of Aspasia.

He gave himself up, therefore, entirely to Tiribazus, and many others soon entered into the conspiracy. But before it could be carried into execution, an eunuch gave the king information of it, and of all the measures that were taken; for he had got perfect intelligence that they designed to enter his chamber in the night, and kill him in his bed.

Artaxerxes thought it would be great imprudence either to slight the information, and lay himself open to such danger, or to credit it without farther proof. The method he took was this: he ordered the eunuch to join Darius and his adherents, and assist at all their councils; and in the meantime broke a door through the wall behind his bed, which he concealed with the tapestry. When the time came, which the eunuch informed him of, he placed himself upon his bed, and remained there till he had a sight of the faces of the conspirators, and could perfectly distinguish each of them. But when he saw them draw their swords, and advance towards him, he pulled back the tapestry, retreated into the inner room, and, after he had bolted the door, alarmed the palace. The assassins seeing themselves discovered, and their designs disappointed, immediately took to flight, and desired Tiribazus to do the same, because he must certainly have been observed. While he lingered, the guards came and laid hold of him; but he killed many of them, and it was with difficulty that he was despatched at last by a javelin thrown at a distance.

Darius was taken, together with his children, and brought to answer for his crime before the judges which the king appointed. The king did not think proper to assist at the trial in person, but directed others to lay the charge against his son; and his notaries were to take down separately the opinion of each judge. As they all gave it unanimously for death, the officers took Darius, and led him into an adjacent prison. But when the executioner came, with

the instrument in his hand which is used in beheading the capital convicts, he was seized with horror at the sight of Darius, and drew back towards the door, as having neither ability nor courage to lay violent hands upon the king. But the judges, who stood at the door, urging him to do his office, with menaces of instant punishment if he did not comply, he returned, and seizing Darius by the hair threw him on the ground, and cut off his head. Some say the cause was tried in presence of the king, and that Darius after he was convicted by indubitable proof, fell on his face and begged for mercy, but Artaxerxes, rising in great anger, drew his scimitar, and pursued his stroke till he laid him dead at his feet. They add, that after this he returned to his palace, and having paid his devotions to the sun, said to those who assisted at the ceremony, "My Persians, you may now return in triumph, and tell your fellow subjects, that the great Oromazes[1] has taken vengeance on those who formed the most impious and execrable designs against their sovereign." Such was the end of the conspiracy.

Ochus now entertained very agreeable hopes, and was encouraged besides by Atossa. But he had still some fear of his remaining legitimate brother, Ariaspes, and of his natural brother Arsames. Not that Ochus had so much to apprehend from Ariaspes merely because he was older, but the Persians were desirous of having him succeed to the throne on account of his mildness, his sincerity, and his humane disposition. As for Arsames, he had the character of a wise prince, and was the particular favourite of his father. This was no secret to Ochus. However, he planned the destruction of both these brothers of his; and being of an artful, as well as sanguinary turn, he employed his cruelty against Arsames, and his art against Ariaspes. To the latter he privately sent some of the king's eunuchs and friends with frequent accounts of severe and menacing expressions of his father's, as if he had resolved to put him to a cruel and ignominious death. As these persons came daily to tell him in confidence that some of these threats were upon the point of being put in execution, and the others would not be long delayed, he was so terrified, and fell into such a melancholy and desponding way, that he prepared a poisonous draught, and drank it, to deliver himself from the burden of life.

The king being informed of the manner of his death, sincerely lamented him, and had some suspicion of the cause, but could not examine into it thoroughly on account of his great age.

However, Arsames now became dearer to him than ever, and it was easy to see that the king placed an entire confidence in him, and communicated to him his most secret thoughts. Ochus, therefore, would not defer his enterprise longer, but employed Harpates, the son of Tiribazus, to kill Arsames. Artaxerxes, whom time had brought to the very verge of life, when he had this additional stroke in the fate of Arsames, could not make much more struggle: his

1 The Persians worshipped *Oromazes* as author of Good, and *Arimanius* as author of Evil.

sorrow and regret soon brought him to the grave. He lived 94 years, and reigned 62.[1] He had the character of a prince who governed with lenity, and loved his people. But perhaps the behaviour of his successor might contribute not a little to his reputation, for Ochus was the most cruel and sanguinary of princes.

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS, the son of Xeuxidemus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very respectable character, left behind him two sons, the one named Agis, whom he had of Lampito,[2] a woman of an illustrious family; the other much younger, named Agesilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Melisippidas. As the crown, by law, was to descend to Agis, Agesilaus had nothing to expect but a private station, and therefore had a common Lacedæmonian education; which, though hard in respect of diet, and full of laborious exercises, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence Simonides is said to have called that famed city, *the man-subduing* Sparta, because it was the principal tendency of her discipline to make the citizens obedient and submissive to the laws; and she trained her youth as the colt is trained to the menage. The law does not lay the young princes who are educated for the throne under the same necessity. But Agesilaus was singular in this, that before he came to govern he had learned to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himself with a better grace to his subjects than any other of the kings, having added to his princely talents and inclinations a humane manner and popular civility.

While he was yet in one of the classes or societies of boys, Lysander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans distinguish with the name of love. He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty. For though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or borne down, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleness where it was necessary to obey. At the same time, it appeared that his obedience was not owing to fear but to the principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded disgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg; but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to rally himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, that defect made his spirit of enterprise more remarkable; for he never declined on that account any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

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[1] Diodorus Siculus says, that he reigned only forty-three years.

[2] Lampito, or Lampido, was sister to Archidamus by the father's side.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aspect. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable, even in age, than the young and the handsome. Theophrastus tells us, the *Ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pigmies instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child which she had for his, but said it was the son of Alcibiades. Duris informs us, that the queen was not displeased at the supposition, and that she used to whisper to her women the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with an eye of suspicion, did not take notice of him as a son. Yet, in his last sickness, Leotychidas prevailed upon him by his tears and entreaties to acknowledge him as such before many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this public declaration, Agis was no sooner dead, than Lysander, who had vanquished the Athenians at sea, and had great power and interest in Sparta, advanced Agesilaus to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a bastard, and consequently had no right to it. Indeed, the generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Agesilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the severity of the Spartan discipline, joined with pleasure in the scheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner named Diopithes, well versed in ancient prophecies, and supposed an able interpreter of everything relating to the gods. This man insisted, it was contrary to the divine will that a lame man should sit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was to be decided, he publicly read this oracle—

> Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire[1]
> Thy boasted strength impair; for other woes
> Than thou beholdi'st, await thee—borne away
> By the strange tide of war——

Lysander observing upon this, that if the Spartans were solicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas, for that Heaven did not consider it as a matter of importance if the king happened to have a lame foot; the thing to be guarded against was the admission of a person who was not a

[1] The two legs of the Spartan constitution were the two kings, which therefore must be in a maimed and ruined state when one of them was gone. In fact the consequence produced not a just and good monarch, but a tyrant.

genuine descendant of Hercules, for that would make the kingdom itself lame. Agesilaus added, that Neptune had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake;[1] ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born, though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

By these ways and means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put in possession of the private estate of Agis, Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing, however, that his relations by his mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the estate among them, by which means the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

Xenophon tells us, that by obedience to the laws of his country, Agesilaus gained so much power, that his will was not disputed. The case was this. The principal authority was then in the hands of the *Ephori* and the senate. *The Ephori were annual magistrates, and the senators had their office for life.* They were both appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual disputes subsisted between them. But Lysander took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occasion; taking care, in all his enterprises, to set out under their auspices. If he was called, he went faster than usual: if he was upon his throne, administering justice, he rose up when the *Ephori* approached: if any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox,[1] as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown, through their support and attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed anything extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it: his friends he could not correct when they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, if his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathize with them, and ready to give them his assistance if they desired it. By these means he gained the hearts of all his people.

The *Ephori* saw this, and, in their fear of his increasing power, imposed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would cease, by reason of that

1 See Xenophon, Grecian His. book iii. 2 Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

perfect harmony; so Lycurgus *infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous.* He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the next proposal, without exploring each other's intentions, and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle, and deserved not the name of harmony.[1] Some imagine that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice *(Odyssey, lib. viii.)* Homer saw this, and when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some great benefit would arise to their affairs in general, from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without some exception; for violent dissensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of the greatest dangers.

Agesilaus had not long been seated on the throne before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing a great fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be sent again into Asia, that he might support his friends whom he left governors and masters of the cities, and many of whom, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, were banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the greatest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time he instructed his friends in Asia to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

Agesilaus received their proposals in full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him 30 Spartans for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of 2000 newly enfranchised *Helots*, and 6000 of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through the influence of Lysander, and Agesilaus sent out with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was soon at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendship of Agesilaus, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than the raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geræsius, he went with his friends to Aulis; and passing the night there, he dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "You are sensible that, since Agamemnon has been appointed captain-general of all Greece, but yourself the king of Sparta; and you are the only person who have arrived at that honour. Since, therefore, you command the same people, and go against the same enemies with him, as well as take your departure from the same place, you ought to propitiate the goddess with the same sacrifice which he offered here before he sailed."

[1] Upon the same principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party disputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours.

Agesilaus at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior Being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessors. In consequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to her own soothsayer, with orders that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The first magistrates of Bœotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of Bœotia. And the officers not only gave him such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Agesilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hopes of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not answer the intention.

When he came to Ephesus, the power and interest of Lysander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that minister were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Agesilaus had only the name and badges of command, to save the forms of law, and Lysander had in fact the power, and all business were to pass through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were sent to Asia ever had greater sway, or were more dreaded than he; none ever served their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies so much. These were things fresh in every one's memory; and when they compared also the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Agesilaus, with the stern, the short, and authoritative manner of Lysander, they submitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans first expressed their resentment, because that attention to Lysander made them appear rather as his ministers, than as counsellors to the king. Afterwards Agesilaus himself was piqued at it. For though he had no envy in his nature, or jealousy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in asserting his claim to it. Besides, he was apprehensive that if any great action were performed, it would be imputed to Lysander, on account of the superior light in which he had been considered.

The method he took to obviate it was this. His first step was, to oppose the counsels of Lysander, and to pursue measures different from those for which he was most earnest. Another step was to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the interest of that minister. In matters too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, those against whom Lysander exerted himself were sure to gain their cause; and they for whom he appeared could scarce escape without a fine. As these things happened not casually, but constantly and of set purpose, Lysander perceived the cause, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them it, was on his account they were disgraced, and desired them to pay

their court to the king, and to those who had greater interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the king: Agesilaus, therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver: and we are told, he said before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, said, "Agesilaus, you know very well how to lessen your friends." Agesilaus answered, "I know very well who want to be greater than myself." "But, perhaps," said Lysander, "that has rather been so represented to you, than attempted by me. Place me, however, where I may serve you without giving you the least umbrage." Upon this Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont, where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a considerable treasure and 200 horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and, nourishing the remembrance of the affront he had received, considered how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta,[1] and open the way to that high station to all the citizens; and it seems he would have raised great commotions in pursuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in this expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community: for if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and spirit; but under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tissaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws; but afterwards thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Agesilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition;[2] and he considered it as a circumstance which would reflect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon could conduct 10,000 Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he, at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some great and memorable stroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tissaphernes by an artifice which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria, and when the barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned short and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities, and made himself master of immense treasures, by which he showed his friends, that to violate a treaty is to despise the gods; whilst to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure; but as he was inferior in cavalry, and

[1] The Eurytiontidæ and the Agidæ.

[2] He told the Persian ambassadors, "He was much obliged to their master for the step he had taken, since by the violation of his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends to Greece."

the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus to raise that sort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to insist that *every man of substance, if he did not choose to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man.* Many accepted the alternative; and instead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have made, he soon got a numerous and respectable cavalry; for those who did not choose to serve at all, or not to serve as horse, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he professedly imitated Agamemnon, who, for a good mare, excused a dastardly rich man the service.[1]

One day he ordered his commissaries to sell the prisoners, but to strip them first. Their clothes found many purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white, by reason of their having lived so much within doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Whereupon Agesilaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops, "These are the persons whom you fight with;" and then pointing to the rich spoils, "Those are the things ye fight for."

When the season called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tissaphernes; that general deceived himself. For, giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had been imposed upon by them before, he concluded he would not enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his strength did not lie. Agesilaus, as he had proposed, went and sat down on the plains of Sardis, and Tissaphernes was forced to march thither in great haste with succours. The Persian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesilaus, however, considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he had all his forces about him, and therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The barbarians were soon put to flight; the Greeks pursued them; took their camp; and killed great numbers.

In consequence of this success, they could pillage the king's country in full security, and had all the satisfaction to see Tissaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greatest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished. For the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time, he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, promising him large sums,[2] on condition that he would evacuate his

1 Then Messinus his Podargus brings,
And the famed courser of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave
To scape the wars to Agamemnon gave
(Dibia her name), at home to end his day
Base wealth preferring to eternal praise.
Pope, Il. xxiii.

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horses or men.

2 He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute; and he hoped (he said) that this condescension would persuade Agesilaus to accept the peace, and to return home; the rather because Tissaphernes, who was guilty of the first breach, was punished as he deserved.

dominions. Agesilaus answered, "His country was the sole arbitress of peace. For his own part, he rather chose to enrich his soldiers than himself; and the great honour among the Greeks was, to carry home spoils, and not presents from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes for destroying Tissaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, taking 30 talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *scytale* from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as the army—an honour which that city never granted to any one but himself. He was, indeed (as Theopompus somewhere says), confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time, yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithstanding there was this flaw in his character: when he had the conduct of the navy given him, he committed that charge to Pisander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother, and in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his interest, who had been sometime desirous of such a connection, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and took a share in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son, a handsome youth, for whom Agesilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him 1000 horse, and 2000 men drafted from his light-armed troops; and with these he returned to Phrygia.

Agesilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he took his most valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however, watched him so narrowly, that, with the assistance of Herippidas[1] the Spartan, at last he made himself master of his camp and all his treasures. Herippidas made it his business to examine what part of the baggage was secreted, and compelled the barbarians to restore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen eye into everything. This provoked Spithridates to such a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Agesilaus more nearly than this. Besides the pain it gave him to think he had lost Spithridates, and a considerable body of men with him, he was ashamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanness, from which

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[1] Herippidas the Spartan was at the head of the new council of thirty, sent to Agesilaus during the second year of the 97th.

he had ever studied to keep both himself and his country. These were causes of uneasiness that might be publicly acknowledged but he had a private, and a more sensible one, in his attachment to the son of Spithridates; though while he was with him, he had made a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to salute him, and Agesilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth after this was more distant in his addresses. Then Agesilaus was sorry for the repulse he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at such a distance. His friends told him he must blame himself for rejecting his former application. "He would still," said they, "be glad to pay his most obliging respects to you; but take care you do not reject them again." Agesilaus was silent some time, and when he had considered the thing, he said, "Do not mention it to him; for this second victory over myself gives me more pleasure than I should have in turning all I look upon to gold." This resolution of his held while Megabates was with him; but he was so much affected at his departure, that it is hard to say how he would have behaved if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus desired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whose house they had both been entertained, procured an interview. Agesilaus came first to the place appointed with his friends, and sat down upon the long grass under a shade, to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Persian grandee came, his servants spread soft skins and beautiful pieces of tapestry for him; but upon seeing Agesilaus so seated, he was ashamed to make use of them, and placed himself carelessly upon the grass in the same manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the finest colours.

After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had just cause of complaint against the Lacedæmonians, after the services he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Agesilaus saw the Spartans were at a loss for an answer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground, for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an answer, which was as follows: "While we were friends to the king of Persia, we treated him and his in a friendly manner; now we are enemies, you can expect nothing from us but hostilities. Therefore, while you, Pharnabazus, choose to be a vassal to the king, we wound him through your sides. Only be a friend and ally to the Greeks, and shake off that vassalage, and from that moment you have a right to consider these battalions, these arms and ships—in short, all that we are or have—as guardians of your possessions and your liberty; without which nothing is great or desirable among men."[1]

Pharnabazus then explained himself in these terms: "If the king

[1] He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for the future, avoid your territories as much as possible, and rather forage and raise contributions in any other province." Xen. Grec. War, b. iv.

sends another lieutenant in my room, I will be for you; but while he continues me in the government, I will, to the best of my power, repel force with force, and make reprisals upon you for him." Agesilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and rising up with him, said, "Heaven grant that, with such sentiments as these, you may be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his company were going away, his son, who was behind, ran up to Agesilaus, and said, with a smile, "Sir, I enter with you into the rites of hospitality:" at the same time he gave him a javelin which he had in his hand. Agesilaus received it; and, delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for something handsome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His secretary Adæus happening to have a horse with magnificent furniture just by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In process of time this Persian was driven from his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him on all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic games; but as he was past the proper age, they did not choose to admit him.[1] In this case the Persian applied to Agesilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admission he desired, though not without much difficulty.

Agesilaus, indeed, in other respects, *was strictly and inflexibly just;* but where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to justice a mere pretence.—There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. "If Nicias is innocent, acquit him: if he is not innocent, acquit him on my account: however, be sure to acquit him."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of state. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he turned and said, "How little consistent are love and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the upper provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity; and whereas, on many occasions, we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. *Among so many thousands of soldiers as he had, there was scarce one who had a worse or harder bed than he.* He was so fortified against heat and cold

[1] It was the custom sometimes for boys who after a certain age were excluded to have a share in these exhibitions, from the lists.

that none was so well prepared as himself for whatever seasons the climate should produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle than when the Persian governors and generals, who had been insufferably elated with power, and rolling in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and, upon one laconic word, conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occasion—

MARS is the god; and Greece reverss not GOLD.

All Asia was now ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police, without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there, to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the *Ephori* had sent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! barbarians to each other!

What better name can we give that envy which incited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when Fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians; and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themselves, which was happily removed into a foreign country.[1] I cannot, indeed agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he says, those Greeks fell short of great happiness, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by the generals whom they slew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

However, of all the actions of Agesilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a stronger instance of his obedience to the laws and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander made a jest of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: He said, "It seems,

1 That corruption which brought the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we must take leave to observe, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece were the support of its liberties, and that Persia was not conquered till nothing but the shadow of those liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent states which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm, from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

my friends, that while we were conquering Darius here, there was a combat of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No sooner was the *scytala* brought him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home, and left his great work unfinished. Such was the regret his friends as well as his allies had for the loss of him, that it was a strong confutation of the saying of Demostratus the Phæacian, "That the Lacedæmonians excelled in public, and the Athenians in private characters." For, though he had great merit as a king and a general, yet still he was a more desirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

As the Persian money had the impression of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by 10,000 of the king's archers."[1] For the orators of Athens and Thebes, having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont, he marched through Thrace without asking leave of any of the barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they would have him pass as a friend or as an enemy?" All the rest received him with tokens of friendship, and shewed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the Trallians,[2] of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a passage, demanded of Agesilaus 100 talents of silver, and as many women. He answered the messenger ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive them?" At the same time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people to put the same question to the king of Macedon, who answered, "I will consider of it." "*Let him consider*," said he; "*in the meantime we march*." The king, surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and therefore he laid waste their territories. To the city of Larissa, indeed, he offered his friendship, by his ambassadors, Penocles and Scytha: but the people seized them and put them in prison. His troops so resented this affront that they would have had him go and lay seige to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of another mind. He said, "He would not lose one of his ambassadors for gaining all Thessaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder that Agesilaus took this step, since, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were suddenly taken off, but that the loss of the Spartans was small in comparison of that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the least. On the contrary,

1 Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with 50 talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no share in that distribution.

2 Besides the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. So at least, according to Dacier Theopompus (ap. Steph.) testifies.

he said, with a deep sigh, "Unhappy Greece! why hast thou destroyed so many brave men with thy own hands, who, had they lived, might have conquered all the barbarians in the world?"

However, as the Pharsalians attacked and harassed him in his march, he engaged them with 500 horse, and put them to flight. He was so much pleased with this success, that he erected a trophy under Mount Narthacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because with so small a number of his own training he had beaten people who reckoned their cavalry the best in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the *Ephori*, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had strengthened his army with some reinforcements, he thought it was not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day, for which we were called out of Asia." At the same time he sent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cause proclamation to be made at home, that such of the youth as were inclined to go and assist the king might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta presented themselves for that service; but the magistrates selected only fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agesilaus, having passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and traversed Phocis, which was in friendship with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had scarce intrenched himself, when there happened an eclipse of the sun.[1] At the same time he received an account that Pisander was defeated at sea, and killed, by Pharnabazus and Conon. He was much afflicted with his own loss, as well as that of the public; yet, lest his army, which was going to give battle, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered his messengers to give out that Pisander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned solemn thanks for the pretended success, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to Coronea,[2] and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans also, putting themselves in the order of battle, placed themselves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it for Agesilaus, with whom he returned from Asia.

The first charge was neither violent nor lasting: the Thebans soon routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both hastened to their relief. At this instant Agesilaus might have secured to himself the victory without any risk, if

[1] This eclipse happened August 29, in the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, 362 B.C.

[2] In the printed text it is *Coronea*, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly *Chæronea*, upon the Cephisis, was the place where the battle was fought; and we must not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Thessaly, fought 53 years before.

he would have suffered the Thebans to pass and then have charged them in the rear;[1] but borne along with his fury, and an ambition to display his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, especially where Agesilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumstance that he had those volunteers, and they could not have come more seasonably. For they fought with the most determined valour, and exposed their persons to the greatest dangers in his defence; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places with spears and swords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead on the spot. At last, finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourse to a manœuvre which at first they scorned. They opened their ranks and let the Thebans pass; after which, observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themselves much upon the battle, because their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

Agesilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and *had seen the dead borne off upon their arms.* Meantime he was informed, that a part of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they should be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when, under the conduct of Sparton, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides in the battle of Coronea.

Early next morning, Agesilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the music to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the same time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead: which circumstance confirmed the victory to him. He, therefore, granted them a truce for that purpose, and then caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a solemn procession in honour of the god, and consecrated to him the tenth of the spoils he had taken in Asia. The offering amounted to 100 talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country, nor, in fondness for the fashions he had seen there, disdain those of his own. On the contrary, he shewed as much attachment to the Spartan customs as those who had never passed the Eurotas.

1 Xenophon gives another turn to the matter; for with him Agesilaus was never wrong.

He changed not his repasts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his house. He even let his doors remain, which were so old that they seemed to be those set up by Aristodemus.[1] Xenophon also assures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the least richer than those of other young ladies. These carriages, called *canathra*, and made use of by the virgins in their solemn processions, were a kind of wooden chaises, made in the form of griffins, or goat-stags. Xenophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Agesilaus: and Dicæarchus is greatly dissatisfied, that neither her name is preserved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find by some Lacedæmonian inscriptions, that the wife of Agesilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters Apolia and Proylta. We see also at Lacedæmon the spear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he observed that many of the citizens valued themselves upon breeding horses for the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in person. This he did to shew the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary spirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expense.

Xenophon, so famed for wisdom, spent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great respect. He also desired him to send for his sons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the best knowledge in the world—the knowing how to command and how to obey.

After the death of Lysander, he found out a conspiracy, which that general had formed against him immediately after his return from Asia; and he was inclined to shew the public what kind of man Lysander really was, by exposing an oration found among his papers, which had been composed for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the constitution. But one of the senators having the perusal of it, and finding it a very plausible composition, advised him "not to dig Lysander out of his grave, but rather to bury the oration with him." The advice appeared reasonable, and he suppressed the paper.

As for the persons who opposed the measures most, he made no open reprisals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When invested with power, they soon shewed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in consequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he used to assist them in their distress, and labour to get them acquitted: by which he made them friends and partisans instead of adversaries, so that at last he had no opposition to contend with. For his royal colleague Agesipolis, son of Pausanias, being the son of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modest disposition,

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1 Aristodemus, the son of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flourished A.C. 1100; so that the gates of Agesilaus's palace, if set up by Aristodemus, had then stood 708 years.

interfered not much in the affairs of government. Agesilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. Two kings, when they were at Sparta, eat at the same table. Agesilaus knew that Agesipolis was open to the impressions of love as well as himself, and therefore constantly turned the conversation upon some amiable young person. He even assisted him in his views that way, and brought him at last to fix upon the same favourite with himself. For at Sparta there is nothing criminal in these attachments; on the contrary, such love is productive of the greatest modesty and honour, and its characteristic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Agesilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the address to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, appointed admiral. After which he marched against Corinth[1] with his land forces, and took the long walls; Teleutias assisted his operations by sea. The Argives, who were then in possession of Corinth, were celebrating the Isthmian Games: and Agesilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the sacrifice, drove them away, and seized upon all they had prepared for the festival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him, desired him to undertake the exhibition, as president; but not choosing that, he ordered them to proceed with the solemnity, and stayed to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and some who had gained the prize before had the same good fortune a second time; others who were victorious then were now in the list of the vanquished. Lysander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives must be, who, while they reckoned the presidency at those games so honourable a privilege, did not dare to risk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this sort of diversion was best, and applied himself to embellish the choirs and public exercises of his own country. When he was in Sparta, he honoured them with his presence, and supported them with great zeal and spirit, never missing any of the exercises of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, so much admired by the world, he seemed not even to know them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was universally caressed, approached and paid his respects to him, after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting he would take some honourable notice of him. At last he said, "Do not you know me, sir?" The king, casting his eyes upon him, answered slightly, "Are you not Callipedes the stage-player?" Another time, being asked to go to hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refused, and said, "I have heard the nightingale herself."

[1] There were two expeditions of Agesilaus against Corinth. Plutarch in this place confounds them; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has distinguished them very clearly. The enterprise in which Teleutias assisted did not succeed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Agesilaus's resentment.

Menecrates the physician, having succeeded in some desperate cases, got the surname of Jupiter, and he was so vain of the appellation, that he made use of it in a letter to the king. "Menecrates Jupiter to king Agesilaus, health." His answer began thus: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, his senses."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno; and as he stood looking upon the soldiers who were carrying off the prisoners and the spoils, ambassadors came from Thebes with proposals for peace. He had ever hated the city; and now, thinking it necessary to express his contempt for it, he pretended not to see the ambassadors, nor to hear their address, though they were before him. Heaven, however, revenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him, that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greatest losses his country had sustained for a long time; and besides being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this mortification, that their heavy-armed soldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Agesilaus immediately marched to their assistance, but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and acquainted the Bœotian ambassadors that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of the opportunity to return the insult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only desired a safe conduct to Corinth. Agesilaus, provoked at the demand, answered, "If you are desirous to see your friends in the elevation of success, to-morrow you shall do it with all the security you can desire." Accordingly the next day he laid waste the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus, having shewn the ambassadors that the Corinthians did not dare to oppose him, he dismissed them; then he collected such of his countrymen as had escaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon; taking care every day to move before it was light, and to encamp after it was dark, to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans,[1] he led his forces along with theirs into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands; but he said, "The step he should take would be the very reverse; for they would be more afraid of war, when they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had made themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of

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1 The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied to the Lacedæmonians for succours, who employed Agesilaus in that business. XEN. *Gr. His.* book iv.

Laconia, and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, on this occasion, acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up those cities to the king of Persia for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed, fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by all the means he could devise, because he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," he said, "No; the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war.[1]

His view in this was to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions that the cities of Bœotia should be free and independent. The subsequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the most unjustifiable manner, had seized the citadel of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation, and many of the Spartans did the same—particularly those who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asked him in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbidas had done so unjust a thing?" hoping to bring the blame upon him. He scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of the action; consider whether it is advantageous to Sparta. If its nature is such, it was glorious to do it without any orders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupported by justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing;[2] and if all men were just, there would be no need of valour." If any one in the course of conversation happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the great king," he would answer, "How is he greater than I, if he is not more just?" which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal instrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter whose purport was, to propose a private friendship, and the rites of hospitality between them; but he declined it. He said, "The public friendship was sufficient; and while that lasted, there was no need of a private one."

Yet he did not regulate his conduct by these honourable senti-

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1 The king of Persia's terms were: That the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; and that such as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms. Xen. Hellan. lib. vi. This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year 387 B.C.

2 This is not the only instance in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one, provided his country is a gainer by it.

ments: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans; he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and putting the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to suspect that though Phœbidas was the instrument, the design was formed by Agesilaus; and the subsequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction. For when the Athenians had expelled the garrison,[1] and restored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war against the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *Polemarchs*, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus,[2] who upon the death of Agesipolis succeeded to the throne, was sent with an army into Bœotia. For Agesilaus, who was now 40 years above the age of puberty, *and consequently excused from service by law*, was very willing to decline this commission. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, he was ashamed now to appear in arms against the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that opposed Agesilaus, lately appointed governor of Thespiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was governed rather by sanguine hopes than good sense and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had distinguished himself in the lists of fame by his Theban enterprise, was persuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his superiors he could seize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the sea by a sudden attack at land.

It is said that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, first magistrates in Bœotia.[3] They sent persons to him who pretended to be much in the Spartan interest, and who, by magnifying him as the only man fit for such an exploit, worked up his ambition till he undertook a thing equally unjust and detestable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with less valour, and attended with less success. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but daylight overtook him upon the plains of Thriasia. And we are told that some light appearing to the soldiers to stream from the temples of Eleusis, they were struck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himself lost his spirit of adventure when he found his march could no longer be concealed; and having collected some trifling booty, he returned with disgrace to Thespiæ.

Hereupon, the Athenians sent deputies to Sparta to complain of Sphodrias; but they found the magistrates had proceeded against him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capi-

1 Xen. Grec. Hist. l. v., whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

2 Cleombrotus was the youngest son of Pausanias, and brother to Agesipolis.

3 They feared the Lacedæmonians were too strong for them, and therefore put Sphodrias upon this act of hostility against the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel

tal prosecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial, for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were ashamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to resent the injury as done to themselves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in so flagrant an act of injustice.

Sphodrias had a son named Cleonymus, young and handsome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to suppose, shared in all the uneasiness of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf, because Sphodrias had been a strong adversary to Agesilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and entreated him with many tears to intercede with Agesilaus as the person whom they had most reason to dread, he undertook the commission. Three or four days passed, during which he was restrained by a reverential awe from speaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in silence. At last, when the day of trial was at hand, he summoned up courage enough to say, Cleonymus was a suppliant to him for his father. Agesilaus, knowing the attachment of his son to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him against it. For Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthiest men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this case: he only said, "He would consider what would be the consistent and honourable part for him to act."

Archidamus, therefore, ashamed of the inefficacy of his interposition, discontinued his visits to Cleonymus, though before he used to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias gave up the point for lost; till an intimate acquaintance of Agesilaus, named Etymocles, in a conversation which passed between them, discovered the sentiments of that prince. He told them, "He highly disapproved that attempt of Sphodrias, yet he looked upon him as a brave man, and was sensible that Sparta had occasion for such soldiers as he." This was the way, indeed, in which Agesilaus constantly spoke of the cause, in order to oblige his son. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived with how much zeal Archidamus had served him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Agesilaus was certainly a most affectionate father. It is said, when his children were small, he would join in their sports; *and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a stick, he desired him "not to mention it till he was a father himself."*

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the censures of the world upon Agesilaus, who, to gratify an absurd and childish inclination of his son, obstructed the course of justice, and brought his country under the reproach of such flagrant offences against the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus[1] disinclined to continue the war with the

[1] Xenophon says, the Ephori thought Agesilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus.

Thebans, he dropped the excuse the law furnished him with, though he had made use of it before, and marched himself into Bœotia. The Thebans suffered much from his operations, and he felt the same from theirs in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day seeing him come off wounded, thus addressed him: "The Thebans pay you well for teaching them to fight, when they had neither inclination nor sufficient skill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been, after having been trained and exercised in so many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the same reason their ancient sage, Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetræ*, forbade them to go to war with the same enemy often; namely, to prevent the enemy from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewise complained of Agesilaus, "That it was not in any public quarrel, but from an obstinate spirit of private resentment,[1] that he sought to destroy the Thebans. For their part," they said, "they were wearing themselves out, without any occasion, by going in such numbers upon this or that expedition every year, at the will of a handful of Lacedæmonians." Hereupon, Agesilaus, desirous to shew them that the number of their warriors was not so great, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. This done, the crier summoned the trades to stand up one after another: *the potters first*, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the masons—in short, all the mechanics. Almost all the allies rose up to answer in one branch of business or other, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn or exercise any manual art. Then Agesilaus smiled and said, "You see, my friends, we send more warriors into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the citadel,[2] he was seized with spasms and an acute pain in his right leg. It swelled immediately, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ankle, upon which the pain abated; but the blood came so fast, that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of service.

In the meantime the Spartans met with several checks both by sea and land. The most considerable loss was at Leuctra,[3] which was the first pitched battle the Thebans gained against them. Be-

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1 This private resentment and enmity which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himself and his country.

2 Xenophon (Hellan. 337, 12 Ed. St.) says, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house.

3 Some manuscripts have it Τεγύρα; but here is no necessity to alter the received reading, though Palmer insists so much upon it. For that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon (Hellan 349, 26.), that Agesilaus was not then recovered of the sickness mentioned in the text.

fore the last-mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece sent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat of it. Among these was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philosophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He saw the other deputies were awed by the presence of Agesilaus, and he was the only one who preserved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and his propositions. He made a speech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general, in which he shewed that war tended to aggrandize Sparta at the expense of the other states; and insisted that the peace should be founded upon justice and equality; because then only it would be lasting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Agesilaus perceiving that the Greeks listened to him with wonder and great attention, asked him, "Whether he thought it just and equitable that the cities of Bœotia should be declared free and independent?" Epaminondas, with great readiness and spirit, answered him with another question, "Do you think it reasonable that all the cities of Laconia should be declared independent?" Agesilaus, incensed at this answer, started up, and insisted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to a perfect independence for Bœotia?" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the same state." Agesilaus, now exasperated to the last degree, and glad of a pretence against the Thebans, struck their name out of the treaty, and declared war against them upon the spot. After the rest of the deputies had signed such points as they could settle amicably, he dismissed them; leaving others of more difficult nature to be decided by the sword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *Ephori* sent him orders to march against the Thebans. At the same time they sent their commissaries to assemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and considered it as a great burden upon them, though they durst not contradict or oppose the Lacedæmonians. Many inauspicious signs and prodigies appeared.[1] The Spartan opposed the war to the utmost of his power. But Agesilaus could not be driven from his purpose. He prevailed to have hostilities commenced; in hopes that while the rest of Greece was in a state of freedom, and in alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he should have an excellent opportunity to chastise them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his resentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on *June* 14, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on *July* 5, only twenty days after. A thousand citizens of Lacedæmon were killed there, among whom were their king

1 Prothens proposed that the Spartans should disband their army according to their engagement; that all the states should carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war upon such as should oppose the liberty of the cities. This, he said, would give the cause the sanction of Heaven, and the states of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for, as Xenophon adds, "it looked as if the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his side. The beautiful Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was struck down three several times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and rose up as often; and at last was killed with his sword in his hand.[1]

After the Lacedæmonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious success than Greeks had ever boasted, in a battle with Greeks, the spirit and dignity of the vanquished was, notwithstanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed, if, as Xenophon says, "Men of merit, in their convivial conversations, let fall some expressions that deserve to be remarked and preserved, certainly the noble behaviour and the expressions of such persons, when struggling with adversity, claim our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival, and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The *Ephori*, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective families, they stayed to see the exercises, the dances, and all the other parts of the exhibition concluded.[2]

Next morning, the names of the killed, and of those who survived the battle, being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead appeared in public, and embraced each other with a cheerful air and a generous pride; while the relations of the survivors shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he shewed all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation both in his speech and countenance. The difference was still more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their sons alive from the battle were melancholy and silent; whereas those who had an account that their sons were slain, repaired immediately to the temples

1 Epaminondas placed his best troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other. The former he commanded in person: to the latter he gave directions, that when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with so much bravery, that the Spartans began to give way, especially after Cleombrotus was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thousand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans lost their superiority in Greece, which they had held nearly 500 years.

2 But where was the merit of all this? What could such conduct have for its support but either insensibility or affectation? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, certainly the ruin of the state was an object sufficiently serious to call them from the pursuits of festivity! But, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat:* The infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to last upon them, even when they had felt its fatal consequences.

to return thanks, and visited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameness of Agesilaus. The scruples they had on this occasion discouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine displeasure had brought upon them the late calamity, for expelling a sound man from the throne, and preferring a lame one, in spite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had given them against it. Nevertheless, in regard of his virtue, his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, besides marching them under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal disorder of the commonwealth. At present they were at a loss what to do with those who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call such persons *tresantas*.[1] In this case they did not choose to set such marks of disgrace upon them as the laws directed, because they were so numerous and powerful, that there was reason to apprehend it might occasion an insurrection: for such persons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them. Any man who meets them is at liberty to strike them. *They are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours; and to wear their beards half shaved and half unshaved.* To put so rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were so numerous, and when the commonwealth had so much occasion for soldiers, was both impolitic ud dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourse to Agesilaus, and invested him with new powers of legislation. But he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the assembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws should sleep that day, and resume their authority the day following, and retain it for ever." By this means he preserved to the state its laws entire, as well as the obnoxious persons from infamy. Then, in order to raise the youth out of the depression and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This restored Sparta to her spirits in some degree, and gave her reason to hope that she was not absolutely lost.

Soon after this Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to 40,000 men, exclusive of the light-armed, and those who, without arms, followed only for plunder. For, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than 70,000 that poured into that country. Full 600 years were elapsed since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon, and this was the first time in all that long period they had seen an enemy in

[1] That is, *persons governed by their fears.*

their territories; none ever dared to set foot in them before. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword, as far as the Eurotas, and the very suburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city and other important posts; and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agesilaus was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness at the shouts of the enemy, and the flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state at his accession, and he now saw her glory wither, and his own boasts come to nothing. It seems he had often said, "No Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an enemy's camp." In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas on the subject of valour, and said, "We have often driven you from the banks of the Cephisus," Antalcidas answered, "But we never drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this, was the repartee of a Spartan of less note, to a man of Argos, who said, "Many of you sleep on the plains of Argos." The Spartan answered, "But not one of you sleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some say, Antalcidas was then one of the *Ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to pass the Eurotas, in order to attack the town itself, Agesilaus relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river was much swollen with the snow, which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troublesome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry. As he was passing it, somebody pointed him out to Agesilaus; who, after having viewed him for some time, only let fall this expression, "O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but finding he could not draw down Agesilaus from the heights, he decamped and laid waste the country.

There had long been a disaffected party in Lacedæmon, and now about 200 of that party leagued together, and seized upon a strong post, called the *Issorium*, in which stood the temple of Diana. The Lacedæmonians wanted to have the place stormed immediately; but Agesilaus, apprehensive of an insurrection in their favour, took his cloak and one servant with him, and told them aloud, that they had mistaken their orders. "I did not order you," said he, "to take post here, nor all in any one place, but some there (pointing to another place), and some in other quarters." When they heard

this they were happy in thinking their design was not discovered; and they came out, and went to several posts as he directed them. At the same time he lodged another corps in the *Issorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this he discovered another and much greater conspiracy of Spartans, who met privately in a house belonging to one of them, to consider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of so much trouble, or to let their cabals pass without notice. *Agesilaus, therefore, having consulted with the Ephori, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever suffered in that manner before.*

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the *Helots* who were enlisted slunk away from the town, and deserted to the enemy, and this greatly discouraged his forces, he ordered his servants to go early in the morning to their quarters, and where they found any had deserted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Historians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia. Some say the winter soon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that season, and falling off in a very disorderly manner; others affirm that the Thebans stayed full three months: in which time they laid waste almost all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had sent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus, on the part of Agesilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laconia. So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expenses of their return. For my part I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other historians knew nothing of.

It is universally agreed, however, that Agesilaus saved Sparta by controlling his native passions of obstinacy and ambition, and pursuing no measures but what were safe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow restore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accustomed to a strict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, so one miscarriage brought that flourishing state to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at. Their constitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony; but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquisitions which Lycurgus thought unnecessary to their happiness, they split upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Agesilaus now declined the service on account of his great age; but his son Archidamus having received some succours from Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the fearless battle;* for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without losing a man himself.

Nothing could afford a greater proof of the weakness of Sparta

than this victory. Before, it had been so common and so natural a thing for Spartans to conquer, that on such occasions they offered no greater sacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor those who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has so well described, the *Ephori* presented the person who brought him the first news of their success with nothing but a mess of meat from the public table; but now, when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands, and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory stream out afresh. Till that hour the men were so much ashamed of the loss they had sustained, that, it is said, they could not even carry it with an unembarrassed countenance to the women.

When Epaminondas re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppose him in the field; but it gave them great concern; and they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that in his reign they had lost a country full as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece—a country whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason Agesilaus rejected the peace which the Thebans offered him; not choosing formally to give up to them what they were in fact possessed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had separated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas being apprized that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegea in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road to Lacedæmon from that Agesilaus was upon, so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceless state, and have taken it with ease; but Euthynus of Thespine, as Callisthenes relates it, or some Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He saw that this was not the time (as it had been) for safe and cautious measures, but rather for the boldest and most desperate efforts; insomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the least use of, staved off the present danger, and snatched the town out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occasion, and shewed the children and the women how gloriously the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus greatly distinguished himself that day, both by his courage and agility, flying through

the bye-lanes to meet the enemy where they pressed the hardest, and everywhere repulsing them with his little band.

But Isadus, the son of Phœbidas, was the most extraordinary and striking spectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his person, and just growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greatest charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed out of his house, and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man he engaged with. Yet he received not one wound himself; whether it was that Heaven preserved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adversaries as something more than human. It is said, the *Ephori* honoured him with a chaplet for the great things he had performed, but at the same time, fined him 1000 drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the first battalions, was very eager in the pursuit; when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned short, and gave him a wound with a spear, according to Dioscorides, or, as others say, with a sword.[1] And, indeed, the descendants of Anticrates are to this day called *machæriones*, *swordsmen*, in Lacedæmon. This action appeared so great, and was so acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his posterity; one of which, named Callicrates,[2] now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace; but Agesilaus, under pretence that the Messenians were not a state, insisted that they should not be comprehended in the treaty. All the rest, however, admitted them to take the oath as one of the states, and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Messenia. Agesilaus could not, therefore, be considered but as violent and obstinate in his temper, and insatiably fond of hostilities, since he took every method to obstruct the general peace, and to protract the war, though at the same time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreasonable subsidies of the people. This was at a time, too, when he had the fairest opportunity to extricate himself from all his distresses. Besides, after he had let slip the power, which never before was at such a height, lost so many cities, and seen his country deprived of the superiority both at sea and land, should he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Messene?

He still lost more reputation by taking a command under Tachos,

[1] Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the son of Xenophon, who, he says, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account, it seems, was better grounded.

[2] Nearly five hundred years after.

the Egyptian chief. It was not thought suitable to one of the greatest characters in Greece—a man who had filled the whole world with his renown—to hire out his person, to give his name and his interest for a pecuniary consideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian, a rebel against the king, his master. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and scars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day, would not have been entirely unexceptionable; for even honourable pursuits must have their times and seasons to give them a propriety; and the avoiding of all extremes is the characteristic which distinguishes honourable pursuits from dishonourable. But Agesilaus was not moved by this consideration, nor did he think any public service unworthy of him; he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to sit down and wait till death should strike his blow. He therefore raised a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet with the money which Tachos had sent him, and then set sail; taking with him thirty Spartans for his counsellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Egypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Agesilaus had raised great expectations in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little old man, and in as mean attire, seated on the grass by the sea-side, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and observing that this was the very thing represented in the fable,[1] "The mountain had brought forth a mouse." They were still more surprised at his want of politeness, when they brought him such presents as were commonly made to strangers of distinction, and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geese, and refused the pasties, the sweetmeats, and perfumes; and when they pressed him to accept them, he said, "They might carry them to the *Helots*." Theophrastus tells us, he was pleased with the *papyrus*, on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt, he asked the king for some of it.

Tachos was preparing for the war, and Agesilaus, upon joining him, was greatly disappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was admiral; Tachos, however, reserved to himself the chief direction, both at sea and land. This was the first disagreeable circumstance that occurred to Agesilaus, and others soon followed. The vanity and insolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He consented to sail with him against the Phœnicians; and, contrary to his dignity and nature, submitted to the barbarian, till he could find an opportunity

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[1] Athenæus in his account makes Tachos say this, and Agesilaus make answer, "You will find me a lion by and by!"

to shake off his yoke. That opportunity soon presented itself. Nectanabis, cousin to Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent ambassadors to Agesilaus to entreat his assistance. He made the same application to Chabrias, and promised them both great rewards. Tachos was apprised of these proceedings, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease the resentment of Agesilaus, and keep him to the cause he had embarked in. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came hither as a volunteer, and therefore may act as you think proper; but I was sent by my country upon the application of the Egyptians for a general. It would not then be right to commence hostilities against the people to whom I was sent as an assistant, except Sparta should give me such orders." At the same time he sent some of his officers home with instructions to accuse Tachos, and to defend the cause of Nectanabis. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians: the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a greater regard for Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Egyptian deputies the hearing, and this public answer, "That they should leave the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do what should appear most advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis, covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of acting in the best manner for his country:[1] when that slight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery and base desertion. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, by placing a regard to the advantage of their country in the first rank of honour and virtue, left themselves no criterion of justice, but the aggrandizement of Sparta.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But at the same time, there rose up in Mendes another competitor to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with 100,000 men whom he had soon assembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many of them mechanics, who were to be despised for their utter ignorance of war. "It is not their numbers," said Agesilaus, "that I fear, but that ignorance and inexperience you mention, which render them incapable of being practised upon by art or stratagem; for those can only be exercised with success upon such as, having

[1] Xenophon has succeeded well enough in defending Agesilaus with respect to his undertaking the expeditions into Egypt. He represents him pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some return for his many services to the Lacedæmonians; of restoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him, with respect to his deserting Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of treachery.

skill enough to suspect the designs of their enemy, form schemes to countermine him, and, in the meantime, are caught by new contrivances. But he who has neither expectation nor suspicion of that sort, gives his adversary no more opportunity than he who stands still gives to a wrestler."

Soon after this adventure Mendes also sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis; and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in most of his operations, then his fears and suspicions increased, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Agesilaus could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides again, and at last return without effecting anything. He therefore followed his standard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up and began to open their trenches in order to enclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a design he had formed.

The design was this. The enemy were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to shut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded so far in the work that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Egyptian, and said, "Now is the time, young man, for you to save yourself, which I did not choose to speak of sooner, lest it should be divulged and lost. The enemy with their own hands have worked out your security by labouring so long upon the trench that the part which is finished will prevent our suffering by their numbers, and the space which is left puts it in our power to fight them upon equal terms. Come on, then; now show your courage; sally out along with us with the utmost vigour, and save both yourself and your army. The enemy will not dare to stand us in front, and our flanks are secured by the trench." Nectanabis, now admiring his capacity, put himself in the middle of the Greeks, and, advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agesilaus having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same stratagem, as a wrestler sometimes uses the same sleight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place enclosed with two ditches that were very deep and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge with a front equal to theirs, and secured by the nature of the ground against being surrounded. The consequence was,

that they made but little resistance; numbers were killed, and the rest fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agesilaus, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta on account of the war she had upon her hands at home, for he knew that her finances were low, though, at the same time, she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis dismissed him with great marks of honour, and besides other presents, furnished him with 230 talents of silver for the expenses of the Grecian war. But as it was winter, he met with a storm which drove him upon a desert shore in Africa, called the *Haven of Menelaus;* and there he died at the age of 84 years, of which he had reigned 41 in Lacedæmon. Above 30 years of that time he made the greatest figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander-in-chief, and, as it were, king of Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home. And as the attendants of Agesilaus had not money to preserve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and so conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.

AGIS.

IT is not without appearance of probability that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their embrace: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue; and governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine—the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks—

> These are our subjects, yet we serve them,
> And listen to their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those great statesmen who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves, to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship, those at the oars can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders: so they who take their measures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called governors indeed, but, in fact, are no more than slaves of the people.

The complete, the honest statesman has no farther regard to the public opinion than as the confidence it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himself upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophrastus says, when they first begin to grow in persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterwards increase in proportion as the love of glory increases. But an immoderate passion for fame, in all affairs, is dangerous, and in political matters destructive: for, joined to great authority, this passion drives all that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be also good and honest. Therefore, as Phocion said to Antipater, when he desired something of him inconsistent with justice, "You cannot have Phocion for your friend and flatterer too," this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude—"You cannot have the same man both for your governor and your slave;" for that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the serpent. The tail, it seems, one day, quarrelled with the head, and, instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in its turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itself in a terrible manner; and the head, which was thus obliged, against nature, to follow a guide that could neither see nor hear, suffered likewise in its turn. We see many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce such disorders as they can neither redress nor restrain.

These observations on popularity were suggested to us by considering the effects of it in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of disposition, of education, and political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined, not so much by an immoderate love of glory as by a fear of disgrace, which, in its origin, was not wrong. They had been so much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were ashamed to be behind-hand with them in marks of attention. On the contrary, by the most acceptable services, they always studied to outdo the honours paid them; and being still more honoured on account of those services, the affection between them and the people became at last so violent, that it forced them into a situation wherein it was in vain to say, "Since we are wrong, it would be a shame to persist."

With these two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they strove to enlarge the privileges of the people, and by restoring the just and glorious institutions which had long fallen into disuse, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the superiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accustomed. These Spartans

were not, indeed, brothers; but their actions were of the same kindred and complexion, the source of which was this:—

When the love of money made its way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanness in its train on the one hand, on the other, profusion, effeminacy, and luxury, that state soon deviated from its original virtue, and sank into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion, the son of Eudamidas, the sixth in descent from Agesilaus, distinguished by his expedition into Asia, and for his eminence in Greece. Agesilaus was succeeded by his son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandonium in Italy.[1] Agis was the eldest son of Archidamus, and being slain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was succeeded by another Archidamus, his son, and that prince by anotherEudamidas, his son likewise, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now speaking. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of another branch of the family of the Agiadæ, the eighth in descent from that Pausanias who conquered Mardonius at Platæa. Pausanias was succeeded by his son Plistonax, and he by another Pausanias, who, being banished to Tegea, left his kingdom to his eldest son Agesipolis. He, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis, after a short reign, died without issue, and Cleomenes, who succeeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldest son Acrotatus, left surviving another son Cleonymus, who, however, did not succeed to the kingdom, which fell to Areus the son of Acrotatus, and grandson of Cleomenes. Areus being slain at Corinth, the crown descended to his son Arcotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus. He left his wife pregnant; and as the child proved to be a son, Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, took the guardianship of him; and his charge dying in his minority, the crown fell to him. This prince was not agreeable to his people. For, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the rest for his deviation from the customs of his ancestors. He had long been conversant in the courts of the Asiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus; and he had the indiscretion to introduce the pomp of those courts into a Grecian state, and *into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.*

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almost all the kings who reigned before him since the great Agesilaus, in goodness of disposition and dignity of mind. For, though brought up in the greatest affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition, under his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richest persons in Lacedæmonia,

1 We know of no such place as *Mandonium*. Probably we should read *Mandurium*, which is the name of a city of Japygia, mentioned by the geographers. CELLARIUS, p. 902.

yet before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war against pleasure; and, to prevent any vanity which the beauty of his person might have suggested, he discarded all unnecessary ornament and expense, and constantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloak. In his diet, his bathing, and in all his exercises, he kept close to the Spartan simplicity, and he often used to say that the crown was no farther an object of desire to him than as it might enable him to restore the laws and ancient discipline of his country.

The first symptoms of corruption and distemper in their commonwealth appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely destroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and silver into Lacedæmon. Nevertheless, the Agrarian law established by Lycurgus still subsisting, and the lots of land descending undiminished from father to son, order and equality in some measure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the same time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the *Ephori*, and having a quarrel with his son, procured a law that all men should have liberty to alienate[1] their estates in their lifetime, or to leave them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment that this man proposed the decree, which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the best institution in the world was abrogated. Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, not scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the rest of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts and exercises, being obliged to drudge in mean and mechanic employments for their bread, and consequently looking with envy and hatred upon the rich. There remained not above 700 of the old Spartan families, of which, perhaps, 100 had estates in land. The rest of the city was filled with an insignificant rabble without property or honour, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For these reasons Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to bring the citizens again to an equality, and by that means to replenish Sparta with respectable inhabitants. For this purpose he sounded the inclinations of his subjects. The young men listened to him with a readiness far beyond his expectation; they adopted the cause of virtue with him: and, for the sake of liberty, changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel; but most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus as a fugitive slave, when brought back, is of that of his master. They inveighed, therefore, against Agis for lamenting the present state of

1 It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure Laws empowering the nobility to alienate their estates, and by that means to reduce their power; for the nobility in those times were no better than so many petty tyrants.

things, and desiring to restore the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lysander, the son of Libys, Mandroclidas, the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus, not only came into his glorious designs, but co-operated with them.

Lysander had great reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man understood the interests of Greece better than Mandroclidas, and with his shrewdness and capacity he had a proper mixture of spirit. As for Agesilaus, he was uncle to the king, and a man of great eloquence, but, at the same time, effeminate and avaricious. However, he was animated to this enterprise by his son Hippomedon, who had distinguished himself in many wars, and was respectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his person. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the thing which really persuaded Agesilaus to embark in the design was the greatness of his debts, which he hoped would be cleared off by a change in the constitution.

As soon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured, with his assistance, to bring his own mother into the scheme. She was sister to Agesilaus, and by her extensive connexions, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money, had great influence in Sparta, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. Upon the first intimation of the thing she was quite astonished at it, and dissuaded the young man as much as possible from measures which she looked upon as neither practicable nor salutary; but Agesilaus shewed her that they might easily be brought to bear, and that they would prove of the greatest utility to the state. The young prince, too, entreated his mother to sacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition. "It is impossible," said he, "for me ever to vie with other kings in point of opulence. The domestics of an Asiatic grandee, nay, the servant of the stewards of Ptolemy and Seleucus, were richer than all the Spartan kings put together. But if by sobriety, by simplicity of provisions for the body, and by greatness of mind, I can do something which shall far exceed all their pomp and luxury—I mean the making an equal partition of property among all the citizens—I shall really become a great king, and have all the honour that such actions demand."

This address changed the opinions of the women. They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue, as it were, by inspiration, and, in their turn, hastened Agis to put his scheme in execution. They sent for their friends, and recommended the affair to them; and they did the same to the other matrons; for they knew that *the Lacedæmonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public business than the men are with the domestic.* This, indeed, was the principal obstruction to Agis's enterprise. Great part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women: consequently they opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought

them to place their happiness; but because they saw they must also lose that honour and power which follow property. They, therefore, applied to Leonidas the other king, and desired him, as the older man, to put a stop to the projects of Agis.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people, who were desirous of the change, he did not oppose it openly. Privately, however, he strove to blast the design by applying to the magistrates, and invidiously represented, "That Agis offered the poor a share in the estates of the rich as the price of absolute power; and that the distribution of lands, and cancelling of debts, were only means to purchase guards for himself, not citizens for the state of Sparta."

Agis, however, having interest to get Lysander elected one of the *Ephori*, took the opportunity to propose his *rhetra* to the senate; according to which, "Debtors were to be released from their obligations; and lands to be divided in the following manner:—those that lay between the valley of Pellene and Mount Taygetus, as far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be distributed in 4500 equal lots; 15,000 lots were to be made of the remaining territory, which should be shared among the neighbouring inhabitants who were able to bear arms: as to what lay within the limits first mentioned, Spartans were to have the preference: but if their number fell short, it should be made up out of strangers who were unexceptionable in point of person, condition, and education. These were to be divided into 15 companies, some of 500, some of 200, who were to eat together, and keep to the diet and discipline enjoined by the laws of Lycurgus.

The decree thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; and he, with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus, in their discourse to the citizens, entreated them not to suffer the few to insult the many, or to see with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot. They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles which bade them beware of the love of money, as a vice the most ruinous to Sparta; as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphæ, which gave them the same warning. For Pasiphæ had a temple and oracle at Thalamiæ.[1] Some say this Pasiphæ was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a son named Amnon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra,[2] the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of *Pasiphæ*, from her answering the questions of all that consulted her. But Phylarchus says, she was no other than Daphne, the

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[1] Those who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goddess revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream. Cic. de Div. 1. 1.

[2] Pausanias would incline one to think that this was the goddess Ino. "On the road between Oetylus and Thalamiæ," says he, "is the temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who consult her to sleep in her temple, and what they want to know is revealed to them in a dream. In the court of the temple are two statues of brass, one of *Paphia* [it ought to be *Pasiphaë*], the other of the sun. That which is in the temple is so covered with garlands and fillets that it is not to be seen, but it is said to be of brass."

daughter of Amyclas, who, flying from the solicitations of Apollo, was turned into a laurel, and afterwards honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be this as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly, and, after a short speech, declared, that he would contribute largely to the institution which he recommended. He would first give up to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land, and of 600 talents in money: then his mother and grandmother, all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the magnificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced that now, after the space of 300 years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered that he should be obliged to do the same with his colleague, without finding the same acknowledgments from the people; that all would be equally under the necessity of giving up their fortunes, and that he who first set the example would alone reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether he thought Lycurgus a just and good man?" Agis answering in the affirmative, Leonidas thus went on:—"But did Lycurgus ever order just debts to be cancelled, or bestow the freedom of Sparta upon strangers? Did he not rather think his commonwealth could not be in a salutary state, except strangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He did not wonder that Leonidas, who was educated in a foreign country, and had children by intermarriage with a Persian family, should be ignorant that Lycurgus, in banishing money banished both debts and usury from Lacedæmon. As for strangers, he excluded only those who were not likely to conform to his institutions, or fit to class with his people. For he did not dislike them merely as strangers; his exceptions were to their manners and customs, and he was afraid that, by mixing with his Spartans, they would infect them with their luxury, effeminacy, and avarice. Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, were strangers; yet, because their poetry and philosophy moved in concert with the maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in great honour at Sparta. Even you commend Ecprepes, who, when he was one of the *Ephori*, retrenched the two strings which Phrynis the musician had added to the seven of the harp; you commend those who did the same by Timotheus;[1] and yet you complain of our intention to banish superfluity, pride, and luxury from Sparta. Do you think that in retrenching the swelling and supernumerary graces of music they had no farther view, and that they were not afraid the excess and disorder would reach the lives and manners of the people, and destroy the harmony of the stage?"

[1] Timotheus the Milesian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and musician. He added even a twelfth string to the harp, for which he was severely punished by the sage Spartans, who concluded that luxury of sound would effeminate the people.

From this time the common people followed Agis. But the rich entreated Leonidas not to give up their cause; and they exerted their interest so effectually with the senate, whose chief power lay in previously determining what laws should be proposed to the people, that they carried it against the *rhetra* by a majority of one. Lysander, however, being yet in office, resolved to prosecute Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every descendant of Hercules to have children by a woman that is a stranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to settle in a foreign country. He instructed others to allege these things against Leonidas, while he, with his colleagues, watched for a sign from heaven. It was the custom for the *Ephori* every ninth year, on a clear star-light night, when there was no moon, to sit down, and in silence observe the heavens. If a star happened to shoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of some crime against the gods, and suspended them till they were re-established by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lysander, affirming that the sign had appeared to him, summoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witnesses to prove that he had two children by an Asiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus's lieutenants had given him to wife; but that, on her conceiving a mortal aversion to him, he returned home against his will, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this suit he persuaded Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the *Chalciœcus*,[1] as a suppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the intercession. He was re-summoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was deposed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lysander's time expired, and he quitted his office. The *Ephori* of the ensuing year listened to the supplication of Leonidas, and consented to restore him. They likewise began a prosecution against Lysander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and distribution of lands, which those magistrates agreed to, contrary to law. In this danger they persuaded the two kings to unite their interest, and to despise the machinations of the *Ephori*. "These magistrates," said they, "have no power but what they derive from some difference between the kings. In such a case they have a right to support with their suffrage the prince whose measures are salutary against the other who consults not the public good; but when the kings are unanimous, nothing can overrule their determinations. To resist them is then to fight against the laws. For, as we said, they can only decide between the kings in case of disagreement; when their sentiments are the same, the *Ephori* have no right to interpose."

The kings, prevailed upon by this argument, entered the place of assembly with their friends, where they removed the *Ephori* from their seats, and placed others in their room. Agesilaus was one of these new magistrates. They then armed a great number of the

1 Minerva had a temple at Sparta entirely of brass.

youth, and released many out of prison, upon which their adversaries were struck with terror, expecting that many lives would be lost. However, they put not one man to the sword; on the contrary, Agis understanding that Agesilaus designed to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted assassins for that purpose on the way, generously sent a party of men whom he could depend upon to escort him, and they conducted him safely to Tegea.

Thus the business went on with all the success they could desire, and they had no farther opposition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, so worthy of Lacedæmon, miscarried, through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile disease of avarice in Agesilaus. He was possessed of a large and fine estate in land, but at the same time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts nor willing to part with his land, he represented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried into execution at the same time, it would probably raise great commotions in Sparta; but if he first obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterwards quietly and readily consent to the distribution of lands. Agesilaus drew Lysander too into the same snare. An order, therefore, was issued for bringing in *all bonds* (the Lacedæmonians call them *claria*), and they *were piled* together in the market-place and burned. When the fire began to burn, the usurers and other creditors walked off in great distress; but Agesilaus, in a scoffing way, said, "He never saw a brighter or more glorious flame."

The common people demanded that the distribution of lands should also be made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Agesilaus found out some pretence or other for delay, till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for succours; for they expected that the Ætolians would take the route through the territory of Megara and enter Peloponnesus. Aratus, general of the Achæans, assembled an army to prevent it, and wrote to the *Ephori* for assistance.

They immediately sent Agis upon that service, and that prince went out with the highest hopes on account of the spirit of his men and their attachment to his person. They were most of them young men in very indifferent circumstances, who, being now released from their debts, and expecting a division of lands if they returned from the war, strove to recommend themselves as much as possible to Agis. It was a most agreeable spectacle to the cities to see them march through Peloponnesus without committing the least violence, and with such discipline that they were scarce heard as they passed. The Greeks said one to another, "With what excellent order and decency must the armies under Agesilaus, Lysander, or Agesilaus of old, have moved, when we find such exact obedience, such reverence in these Spartans to a general who is perhaps the youngest man in the whole army." Indeed, this young prince's simplicity of diet, his love of labour, and his affecting no show either in his dress or arms above a private soldier, made all the common people as he passed look upon him with pleasure

and admiration. But his new regulations at Lacedæmon displeased the rich, and they were afraid that he might raise commotions everywhere among the commonalty, and put them upon following the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he showed a proper courage and spirit, without any enthusiastic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they should give battle, and not suffer the war to enter the gates of Peloponnesus. He would do, however, what Aratus thought most expedient, because he was the older man, and general of the Achæans, whom he came not to dictate to, but to assist in the war."

It must be acknowledged that Bato[1] of Sinope relates it in another manner. He says, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes by way of apology for himself upon this point. That general tells us, "That as the husbandmen had almost finished their harvest, he thought it better to let the enemy pass than to hazard by a battle the loss of the whole country." Therefore, when Aratus determined not to fight, and dismissed his allies with compliments on their readiness to serve him, Agis, who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where, by this time, internal troubles and changes demanded his presence.

Agesilaus, still one of the *Ephori*, and delivered from the pressure of debt which had weighed down his spirits, scrupled no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation had not come, and insisted on the people's paying supernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid, however, of revenge from those he had injured, and seeing himself hated by all the world, he thought it necessary to maintain a guard, which always attended him to the senate-house. As to the kings, he expressed an utter contempt for one of them, and the respect he paid the other, he would have understood to be, rather on account of his being his kinsman than his wearing the crown; besides, he propagated a report that he should be one of the *Ephori* the year following. His enemies, therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt against him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea and placed him on the throne. The people saw it with pleasure, for they were angry at finding themselves deceived with respect to the promised distribution of lands. Agesilaus had hardly escaped their fury, had not his son Hippomedon, who was held in great esteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

The kings both took sanctuary; Agis in Chalciæcus, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was against the latter that Leonidas was most incensed; and therefore, passing Agis by, he went with a party of soldiers to seize Cleombrotus, whom he

1 He wrote the history of Persia.

reproached, in terms of resentment, with conspiring against him, though honoured with his alliance, depriving him of the crown, and banishing him his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to say, but sat in the deepest distress and silence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done her father as done to herself: when Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, she left him to console her father in his misfortune. While he was in the sanctuary, she stayed with him, and when he retired she attended him in his flight, sympathizing with his sorrow, and full of resentment against Cleombrotus. But when the fortunes of her father changed, she changed too. She joined her husband as a suppliant, and was found sitting by him with marks of tenderness; and her two children, one on each side, at her feet. The whole company were much struck at the sight, and they could not refrain from tears when they considered her goodness of heart and such superior instances of affection.

Chelonis then pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled hair, thus addressed Leonidas. "It was not, my dear father, compassion for Cleombrotus which put me in this habit and gave me this look of misery. My sorrows took their date with your misfortunes and your banishment, and have ever since remained my familiar companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, and are again king of Sparta, should I still retain these ensigns of affliction, or assume festival and royal ornaments while the husband of my youth, whom you gave me, falls a victim to your vengeance? If his own submission, if the tears of his wife and children cannot propitiate you, he must suffer a severer punishment for his offences than you require:—he must see his beloved wife die before him; for how can I live and support the sight of my own sex, after both my husband and my father have refused to hearken to my supplication—when it appears that, both as a wife and a daughter, I am born to be miserable with my family? If this poor man had any plausible reasons for what he did, I obviated them all by forsaking him to follow you. But you furnish him with a sufficient apology for his misbehaviour, by shewing that a crown is so great and desirable an object, that a son-in-law must be slain, and a daughter utterly disregarded, where that is in the question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek on her husband's head, and with an eye dim and languid with sorrow looked round on the spectators. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not leave so affectionate a father, who had been kind enough to grant her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband was risen from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and after having paid due homage at the altar where they had taken sanctuary, she went with him into banishment. So that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile with such a woman a greater happiness than a kingdom without her

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the *Ephori* removed, and others put in their places, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share in the government; "For the people," he said, "thought he might well be pardoned, as a young man ambitious of honour: and the rather because they, as well as he, had been deceived by the craft of Agesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Democharcs, and Arcesilaus, used to give Agis their company, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed a great deal of plate and other rich furniture of Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. On this account he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the *Ephori*, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis spent the rest of his time in the temple, and only went out to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. Therefore, one day on his return, they met him with a great appearance of friendship, as they conducted him on his way, conversed with such freedom and gaiety, which his youth and their intimacy with him seemed to warrant. But when they came to the turning of a street which led to the prison, Amphares, by virtue of his office, arrested him. "I take you, Agis," said he, "into custody, in order to your giving account to the *Ephori* of your administration." At the same time, Democharcs, who was a tall strong man, wrapped his cloak about his head, and dragged him off. The rest, as they had previously concerted the thing, pushed him on behind, and no one coming to his rescue or assistance, he was committed to prison.

Leonidas presently came with a strong band of mercenaries, to secure the prison without; and the *Ephori* entered it, with such senators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial process, with demanding what he had to say in defence of his proceedings; and as the young prince only laughed at their dissimulation, Amphares told him, "They would soon make him weep for his presumption." Another of the *Ephori* seemed inclined to put him in a way of excusing himself and getting off, asked him, "Whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not forced him into the measures he took?" But Agis answered, "I was forced by no man; it was my attachment to the institutions of Lycurgus, and my desire to imitate him, which made me adopt his form of government." Then the same magistrate demanded, "Whether he repented of what he had done?" and his answer was, "I shall never repent of so glorious a design, though I see death before my eyes." Upon this they passed sentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the *decade*, which is a small apartment in the prison where they strangle malefactors. But the officers durst not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; for they

thought it impious to lay violent hands on a king. Democharès, seeing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to punish them. At the same time he laid hold on Agis himself, and thrust him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into custody, and there was a great concourse of people at the prison gates with lanthorns and torches. Among the numbers who resented these proceedings were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and begging that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full assembly. But this, instead of procuring him a respite, hastened his execution; for they were afraid he would be rescued in the night, if the tumult should increase.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears, upon which he said, "My friend, dry up your tears: for, as I suffer innocently, I am in a better condition than those who condemn me contrary to law and justice." So saying, he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner.

Amphares then going to the gate, Agesistrata threw herself at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendship. He raised her from the ground, and told her, "No farther violence should be offered her son, nor should he now have any hard treatment." He told her, too, she might go in and see her son if she pleased. She desired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares assured her there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be locked again, and Archidamia to be first introduced. She was very old, and had lived in great honour and esteem among the Spartans. After she was put to death he ordered Agesistrata to walk in. She did so, and beheld her son extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She assisted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her son and kissing him, she said, "My son, thy too great moderation, lenity, and humanity, have ruined both thee and us." Amphares, who from the door saw and heard all that passed, went up in great fury to Agesistrata and said, "If you approved your son's actions, you shall also have his reward." She rose up to meet her fate, and said, with a sigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

When these events were reported in the city, and the three corpses carried out, the terror the sad scene inspired was not so great but that the people openly expressed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares; for they were persuaded that there had not been such a train of villainous and impious actions at Sparta since the Dorians first inhabited Peloponnesus. The majesty of the kings of Sparta had been held in such veneration, even by their enemies, that they had scrupled to strike them when they had opportunity for it in battle. Hence it was, that in the many actions between the Lacedæmonians and the other Greeks, the former had lost only their king Cleombrotus, who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra, a little before the time of Philip of

Macedon. As for Theopompus, who, as the Messenians affirm, was slain by Aristomenes, the Lacedæmonians deny it, and say he was only wounded. That, indeed, is a matter of some dispute; but it is certain that Agis was the first king of Lacedæmon put to death by the *Ephori*, and that he suffered only for engaging in an enterprise that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta, though he was of an age at which even errors are considered as pardonable. His friends had more reason to complain of him than his enemies for saving Leonidas, and trusting his associates in the undesigning generosity and goodness of his heart.

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